HARVARD WORKSHOP SERIES: NO. 6

MEET THE SOVIET RUSSIANS

A STUDY GUIDE TO THE SOVIET UNION FOR TEACHERS IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS

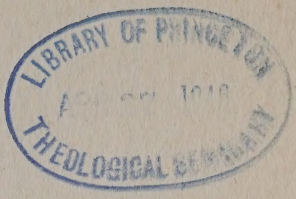
By

DORA A. AMES, KATRINA B. ANDERSON, EUNICE JOHNS, AND OTHERS

DK267
.A51

LIBRARY OF PRINCETON
1812
THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
DK261
.A51

HARVARD WORKSHOP SERIES: NO. 6



MEET THE SOVIET RUSSIANS

A STUDY GUIDE TO THE SOVIET UNION FOR TEACHERS IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS

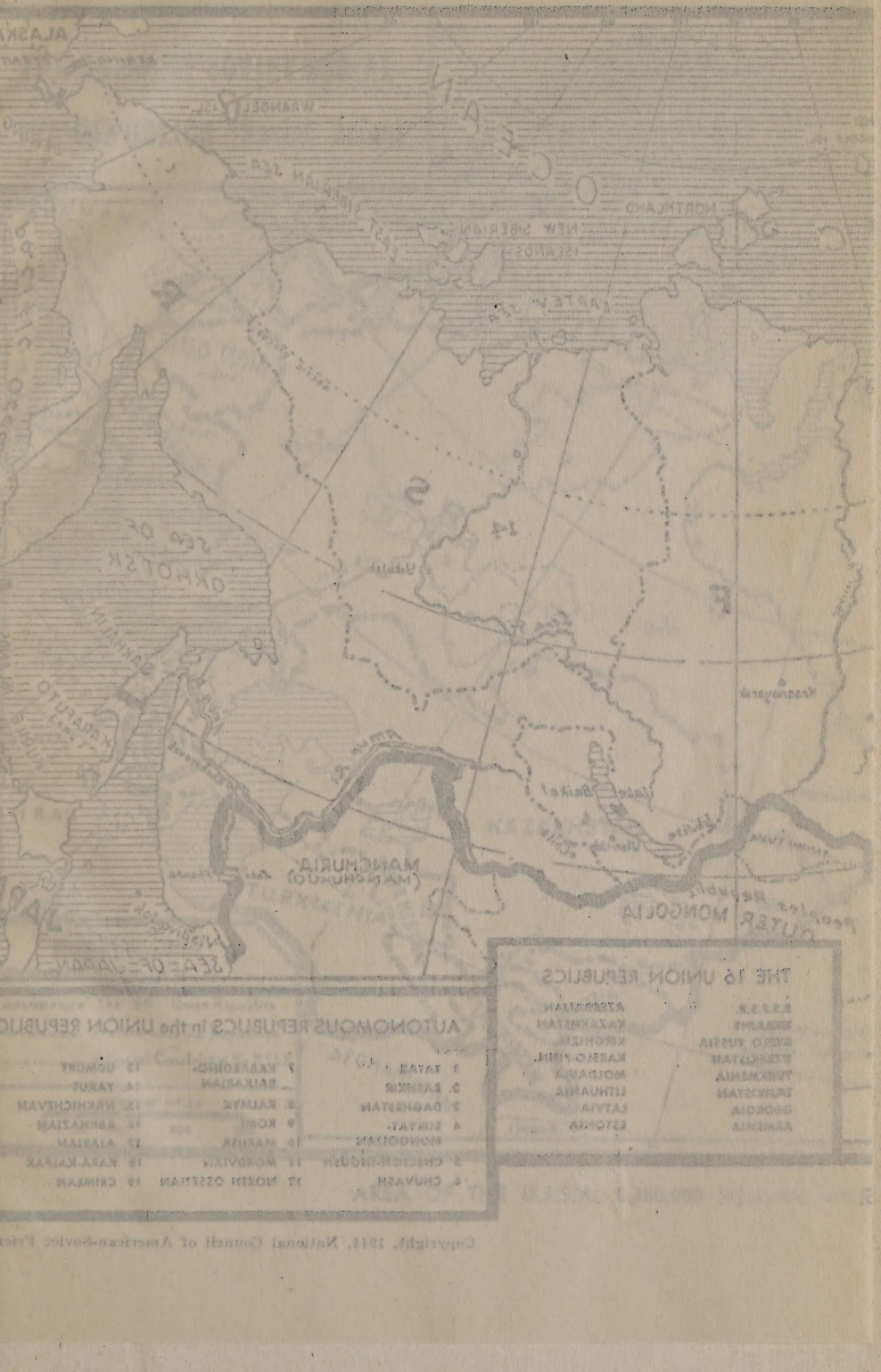
By
DORA A. AMES
Dartmouth High School
North Dartmouth, Massachusetts

KATRINA B. ANDERSON
The Buckingham School
Cambridge, Massachusetts

EUNICE JOHNS
Horace Mann School
Gary, Indiana
AND OTHERS

Published by the Graduate School of Education
Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts
PRICE, 75 CENTS

COPYRIGHT 1944
BY THE COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATIONS
HARVARD GRADUATE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION


MANCHURIA
(MANCHUKUO)
MONGOLIA
SEA OF JAPAN
SEA OF OKHOTSK
THE 16 UNION REPUBLICS
AUTONOMOUS REPUBLICS in the UNION REPUBLIC

AREA OF THE U.S.S.R., 8,350,000 SQUARE MILES.

Copyright, 1944, National Council of American-Soviet Friendship

PREFACE

A document recently issued by the bilateral Canada-United States Committee on Education includes paragraphs which well suggest the background for this *Workshop* publication. The Committee says,

> "Of the 2,175,000,000 people in the world today, only about 50,000,000 have remained uninvolved in World Wars I and II. No modern nation, in defense of sovereignty or even of existence, can live unto itself alone. Each moves within a vast network of international relations, and its welfare is affected by events far removed from its borders. . . . To act with wisdom in matters of national concern and in world affairs each nation must be wise in the ways of other nations. Ignorance and lack of understanding provide no safe foundation for wise action. In a democratic society the citizens of each nation must understand other nations and respect other peoples ever more deeply. The Twentieth Century demands wide horizons for every citizen in a democracy. . . . To maintain democracy in the modern world we must have, as never before, a citizenry widely informed on world affairs and deeply concerned with the preservation of human freedom."

Increasing sensitivity in the United States to the international setting and influences of our times leads inevitably to readjustments and new emphases in school programs of education for citizenship. In recent years we have begun to increase and improve our instruction about Latin America and Asia; as the source of the above quotation indicates, we are awakening to the need for more study about Canada. Among the most seriously neglected areas in our school programs today is the Soviet Union. We teach relatively little about the Soviets; an undue amount of what is presented seems to be inaccurate, incomplete, and biased; out-of-school influences tend to provide much misinformation, to be animated by prejudgments. The net result is that we have more misinformation than information, more heat than light, in our total educational program about one of the major powers of the world in which our pupils must live.

One reason why our educational program in this area falls

short is the scarcity of materials directed toward the use of teachers and pupils. This bulletin is intended to help provide some of the material needed; it presents a résumé of salient facts about the Soviet Union, a useful bibliography, and a reservoir of pupil activities. The bulletin can be used by teachers at all school levels and by pupils in the senior high school. It embodies a "resource unit"; from it the teacher may build a teaching unit directly about the Soviets, or may select data and activities for use in courses in general history or the other social studies. The bulletin does not presuppose a special course on the U.S.S.R.; it is useful and suggestive to teachers of all the social studies and humanities.

The bulletin is an outgrowth of the 1944 Summer Session of the Harvard Workshop in the Social Studies. One section of the Workshop, which was made possible by the aid of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, was focused on the Soviet Union in the network of modern international relations. Dr. Corliss Lamont and Dr. Dorothy Douglas directed this section of the Workshop, working in full cooperation with other staff members representing fields of professional education. A group of teachers participating in the program under their leadership prepared the manuscript of this bulletin; their names appear here as authors; to them the Harvard Workshop is deeply indebted.

Their manuscript is here made available to teachers in the firm conviction that the area of study in which they have pioneered is of marked significance in the adaptation of education to the needs of our times. Their document is not a propaganda plea; it is an effort to place facts before teachers in an educationally useful format. It is the hope of the Harvard Workshop that this bulletin will provide both a service and a stimulus to further work on the part of American teachers.

HOWARD E. WILSON

Harvard Graduate School of Education

MEET THE SOVIET RUSSIANS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

		PAGE
	INTRODUCTION	1
I.	GEOGRAPHY AND RESOURCES	7
II.	PEOPLES AND POPULATION	15
III.	HISTORY	20
IV.	SOVIET LIFE TODAY	
	A. Government	30
	B. Nationality Policies	38
	C. Economic Life	42
	D. Provision for Social Welfare	50
	E. Cultural Life	51
	F. The Position of Women	63
	G. Family Life	65
V.	FOREIGN RELATIONS	67
VI.	SELECTED ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY	77
VII.	MINIMUM KIT OF ESSENTIAL TEACHING MATERIALS	88
VIII.	DIRECTORY OF SOURCES OF TEACHING AIDS	88

INTRODUCTION

THE Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, our ally in the present struggle against German aggression, and our neighbor across the Bering Strait, will doubtless be the greatest land power in Europe and Asia following the war. Soviet Russia has great natural resources, a rapidly growing population, and has made the swiftest strides in technology and industrialization of any country since the First World War. Moreover, here are more than two hundred million fellow human beings, almost one-tenth of all the world's inhabitants, living in an area which is approximately one-sixth of the total land area of the globe, concerning whose background, struggles, present status, aims, and interests, comparatively little is known in the United States. American citizens must learn to understand the U.S.S.R. because our greatest hope for world peace lies in making sound decisions in the field of international relations. In the future peace and in the world coöperation necessary to maintain it, the U.S.S.R. will play an important part.

An intelligent facing of the future requires that knowledge on the part of the students and teachers of America concerning the U.S.S.R. be increased, to the end that greater understanding and better international relations may result. The whole world today is caught up in an intricate pattern of international relationships which necessitate a reassessment of the bases of civic education in this country. We must insert in the curriculum additional materials on the international setting in which the United States has to operate, and of which we are now becoming increasingly aware. What happens in one country affects relationships all over the world. We must study the total pattern of those relationships and the cultures back of them. There is probably no comparable area in the world the study of which is more neglected in current school curricula in this country than the Soviet Union.

THE PLAN OF THE STUDY GUIDE

School authorities who desire to develop an understanding of the Soviet Union will find difficulty in locating adequate materials in school textbooks. It is in an endeaver to suggest aids for the use of teachers and students in the junior and senior high schools that this introduction to the study of the Soviet Russians has been prepared. It is meant to present as objective a picture of the Soviet Union as possible, without pretending to pass judgment on the validity of the system. The material may be used as a resource unit by teachers, or as a framework for the development of a teaching unit. It is well within the scope of high-school students, and they may find it useful as a reference.

The study guide includes (1) a content outline, (2) suggested activities, (3) a selected, annotated bibliography, classified for teachers and students, (4) a suggested minimum kit of materials recommended for a study of the Soviet Union, and (5) a list of places where materials may be obtained.

The content outline is written primarily for secondary-school teachers, and is intended to suggest certain lines of emphasis which may be developed. Limitations of space obviously do not permit treatment of all aspects of Soviet life. Three or four selected reading references for more intensive study are indicated at the end of each topic in the outline. The brief lists of activities for students are intended to suggest supplementary materials and important lines of interpretation. These activities are planned to include some "Things To Do" for students with varying degrees of ability. Teachers will be able to develop in the classroom many other activities which may be more suitable than those suggested, and it is not expected nor recommended that any teacher use all of those included.

The bibliography suggests further reading that may profitably be undertaken by teachers and students. The suggested kit of materials should be regarded as a *minimum,* and many of the books in the general bibliography should be consulted, as well as others that are available.

The attention of teachers is called to materials to be found in

current magazines and newspapers. More is being printed about the Soviet Union in our newspapers and magazines than ever before. Such materials might even be used as a point of departure in developing an entire study of the U.S.S.R. An abundance of pictorial materials is available in such magazines as *Life, Look,* and *National Geographic.* Mimeographed copies of a teaching unit on the U.S.S.R. at the sixth- and seventh-grade levels may be secured from the Social Studies Workshop, Harvard Graduate School of Education.

SOVIET RUSSIA IN THE CURRICULUM

The question of how the materials in this study can be introduced into social studies courses is an important one. Few schools can offer a regular course on the Soviet Union, and then only on an elective basis. There are, however, opportunities in many schools for the introduction of special units of study in some of the regular courses. This would seem to apply especially to courses in world history, modern history, international relations, and world and economic geography. In other courses, filtration of material on the Soviet Union into the existing program can take place. Continuous cross-references between developments in America and in the Soviet Union should help students to acquire a better understanding of our mutual problems and responsibilities. Such filtration can take place frequently in courses in American history, problems of democracy, economics, social problems, current events, literature, music, art, dramatics, public speaking, and debate.

A third method of developing a better understanding of the Soviet Union is by making use of the opportunities for indirect teaching. Attractive classroom and corridor exhibits of pictures and other materials may be quite as effective as the spoken word. Films may be used to promote discussion and study; outside speakers may be invited to visit the school; student assembly and special community programs may be developed with the purpose of promoting better understanding of the U.S.S.R. Extracurricular clubs, such as discussion, current events, and international relations clubs, may profitably devote some time to

study and discussion of the place of the Soviet Union in the world today. Three ways of inserting materials on the Soviet Union into the curriculum have thus been suggested: the introduction of special units in some courses, filtration of material into many courses, and the use of the other school facilities for enriching experiences.

A realistic, thoughtful approach to the problem of teaching about the Soviet Union is needed. The teacher is faced with a lack of objectivity in much of the material at the high-school level, both in texts and in other materials. Bessie Louise Pierce, in her study of civic attitudes in American school textbooks, found that textbooks present, on the whole, friendly sentiments toward Russia before the opening of the first World War, but that, in dealing with the period since 1917, the discussions are apt to arouse the opposite sentiments.[1] Teachers even today may become entangled in controversy when teaching about the Soviet Union. In attempting to teach so as not to arouse prejudices, it is well to avoid value-judgments as to the superiority or inferiority of the Soviet system, but comparisons which are based upon purely factual materials may be made frequently, and with profit. The purpose should be to present an objective study of what the Soviet Union is, how it came to be what it is, and how we can make use of these understandings in learning to work together in harmony. The obligation to undertake the development of an understanding of the Soviet Union is inescapable.

It may be argued that there is no space in the over-crowded curriculum for such a study. The responsibility for the selection of materials rests upon the shoulders of the teachers and administrators in the field of the social studies. We must re-evaluate our points of emphasis, and drop out much of the content material we have included in the past. This does not imply a neglect of content material, but rather intensification at the points of emphasis. Within the social studies field, there is

---

[1] *Civic Attitudes in American School Textbooks.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1930, p. 79.

much needless duplication of topics; in some cases there is repetition of subject matter taught by other departments of the school. A re-examination of the total curriculum of the school, and a critical evaluation and reallocation of materials, will almost certainly provide space for the inclusion of more study of Soviet Russia, which has been so long neglected.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This study guide was prepared as a project of the Social Studies Workshop of the Harvard Graduate School of Education, under the direction of Dr. Howard E. Wilson. The planning of the project and the preparation of the material in its initial stages were supervised by Professor Dorothy Douglas. Dr. Corliss Lamont directed the preparation of the main text of the study guide. Thanks are due to Dr. Douglas, Dr. Lamont, and Miss Catherine L. Grimshaw for the loan of books from their personal libraries; to the Harvard College Library for the loan of books; and to the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, and the Massachusetts Council of American-Soviet Friendship, for the loan of books and other materials.

MEET THE SOVIET RUSSIANS

I. Geography and Resources

A. Extent of Land Area

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is larger than the combined areas of the United States, Canada, Alaska, and Central America, nearly three times the area of continental United States, and forty times the area of France. It possesses, in fact, the largest continuous land mass of any single nation, covering approximately one-sixth of the land surface of the world. Its 8 1/3 million square miles, extending from the North Pacific, near Alaska, to the Baltic, and from the Arctic to Iran, comprise approximately half of Europe and one-third of Asia. The U.S.S.R. is so vast in extent that New York is nearer to Moscow than that capital city is to the important Soviet Pacific port of Vladivostok.

B. Physical Features

The greater part of the U.S.S.R. is a plain, extending from Eastern Poland south to Iran and Afghanistan, north to the Arctic, and east of the Urals across Soviet Asia into western Siberia. The general level is from three to six hundred feet above sea level and rarely rises above 1,000 feet. The comparatively few high features are in the west along the foothills of the Carpathians, in the south in the Caucasus region, the heights of the Urals and of the Volga, and in the far eastern and southeastern border area. The low, wooded Urals, which have been compared to the American Appalachians, form a separation, though by no means a formidable one, between Soviet Europe and Soviet Asia, stretching for 1,500 miles and rising to upwards of 5,000 feet. The physical formation of a large part of the boundary of the country has had a bearing upon its history, because, due to the lack of natural protection, it has been open to frequent invasion, a fact which has required a strong central government for purposes of protection.

Marshlands, largely in the forests, and including many exten-

sive peat bogs, occupy one-fifth of the total area of the Soviet Union. Forest land extends across northern Soviet Asia for approximately 4,000 miles, furnishing lumber, one of the important resources of the country. On the north, this great forest thins out into the Arctic tundra, which is ice-bound for five months of the year, and on the south, the forest merges into the steppes, which extend to the fertile black lands of the Ukraine in the west, and east of the Caspian Sea into semi-desert.

The U.S.S.R. is rich in inland waterways. Its half a million rivers, large and small, have played an important part in the transportation and communication systems of the nation. Many of the rivers have unusual length, breadth, and depth, among the most important being the Volga, the Don, the Dniester, and the Dnieper in Soviet Europe, and the Ob, the Yenisei, and the Lena in Soviet Asia. Geographic obstacles to Russia's development and trade which have affected her history have been her lack of ice-free seaports, and the position and flow of her rivers into inland seas or into the icebound Arctic. The Volga empties into the Caspian Sea, the Don into the Sea of Azov, the Dniester and the Dnieper into the Black Sea; the Ob, Yenisei, and Lena flow northward into the icy Arctic. Murmansk, on the northwest tip of the Kola Peninsula is, due to a warm current, ice free the year around; this is true also of Petropavlovsk in the far east on the Kamchatka Peninsula; Vladivostok on the Sea of Japan is kept open by means of icebreakers. All other ports are on inland seas or are icebound for part of the year.

C. Variations of Climate

Although the United States has great variations in climate, they are not so extreme as those to be found in the Soviet Union. The coldest locality in the world is in northeastern Siberia, where the temperature falls to 96° below zero; there are subtropical regions in the Crimea, where olive trees grow in abundance, and desert lands of extreme heat in the Trans-Caucasus and central Asiatic section. Eighty per cent of the area of the U.S.S.R. is in the temperate zone, 16% in the Arctic zone, and

4% in the subtropical zone; however, because of its continental position, away from the tempering influence of oceans, the winters are colder and the summers hotter than those of western Europe in the same latitudes. The Black and Caspian Seas are in the latitude of the Great Lakes; the climate of the U.S.S.R. is more comparable to the climate of Canada than of the United States. The winter temperatures for nearly all the country are well below freezing, the snowfalls heavy, and many of the northern rivers, lakes, swamps and seacoasts are frozen for months at a time.

The rainfall over the continental plain is slight and irregular; heavy rains are unknown except in the region of the Black Sea. The climate, except in the south, is such as to restrict agriculture to hardy and quickly maturing crops. However, much is being done by way of experimentation to extend northward grain and other crop growing, and by irrigation to develop cotton cultivation in the desert-like areas of central Soviet Asia and the Transcaucasus.

D. Natural Resources

Like the United States, the U.S.S.R. is potentially almost a self-sufficient nation, due to the wealth of her natural resources, most of which, as yet, have only begun to be known and developed. Scientific prospecting parties conducting researches as part of the nation's plan for self-development are still discovering sources of all kinds of raw materials for the country's future use. Her arable land is estimated at more than a billion acres, an eighth of which is under cultivation. One-fourth of the world's forests, three-fifths of the phosphorites, three-fourths of the peat, and four-fifths of the potassium salts are in the U.S.S.R. It is estimated that her coal reserves are ample for centuries to come and her oil production is second only to that of the United States. Reserves of water power, gold, copper, iron ore, manganese, chrome, nickel, lead, and apatites are abundant. Like the United States, the U.S.S.R. has had to import tin, rubber, coffee, cocoa, and palm oil. Rubber substitutes, both synthetically manufactured and made from the kok-sagyz plant, are being developed. No vital resource is totally lacking.

E. Suggested Geographic Divisions of the U.S.S.R.

For convenience in studying the geography and resources of this vast land, it might be helpful to divide the country into six general areas, which, of course, might again be subdivided for more specialized study:

1. *Soviet Europe, as far south as the Caucasus:* the territory from the European borders of the U.S.S.R. west to the Ural mountains, northward to the Arctic Circle, and southward to the North Caucasus. Within this territorial division are the Volga River area, and the industrial, railway, and population centers of first importance in the country; it includes such important cities as Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Kharkov, Gorki, Odessa, Rostov-on-Don, and Stalingrad; the Ukraine contains the richest soil and some of the most productive mines in the entire Soviet Union.

2. *The Caucasus and Transcaucasus:* the area south of the Maikop and Grozny oil fields, between the Black and Caspian Seas, and bordered on the south by Turkey and Iran. This area is the principal region of subtropical crops in the U.S.S.R. Tea, citrus fruits, cotton, grapes, and tobacco are abundant. Important minerals are manganese, coal, and copper; the area supplies 75% of the oil produced in the Soviet Union. Population centers include Baku, oil production city on the Caspian Sea, from which oil is piped to Batumi, oil port on the Black Sea, and Tbilisi, where one of the Soviet Union's large hydraulic electric plants is located.

3. *Soviet Central Asia:* the area stretching from the Caspian Sea to the Pamirs, and including the Turkmen, Uzbek, Tadzhik, Kazakh and Kirgiz Republics. On account of its dry and semi-desert climate, it has presented a challenge to the Soviet nation in making the land useful; this challenge is being met, and, through irrigation, it has become an important cotton growing area. Other products are wheat, sugar beets and kok-sagyz, the rubber plant. Representing the plan of the government to decentralize industry and encourage its expansion eastward, Tashkent is a center of manufacture of the large tractors and com-

bines which have been so vital in the mechanization of agriculture.

4. *Soviet Siberia:* the area north of the Kazakh Republic, east of the Urals, northward to the Arctic Circle and eastward to Lake Baikal and to the border of the Yakut Autonomous Republic. This area has dairying, lumbering, mining, and agriculture, as well as many new industries in the Ural mountain region and in the Kuznetsk Basin. Omsk, on the Irtish River, and Novosibirsk, on the southern Ob, are important industrial centers.

5. *The Far East:* the area, traditionally part of Siberia, from Lake Baikal to the Pacific, and bounded on the south by Manchukuo and Outer Mongolia. The fur industry, mining, cattle breeding, lumbering, and fishing are important in the Republic of Yakutia; Yakutsk, on the River Lena, is a transportation and industrial center of this Republic. The far eastern area includes the strategic Kamchatka Peninsula, as well as the vital port of Vladivostok. On the northeast, the territory is only fifty-six miles from Alaska, across the Bering Strait. Recognizing the difficulty of defense of this distant section from the west, the Soviet government has undertaken to increase its self-sufficiency in manufacturing as well as in agriculture, and a growing industrial center north of Vladivostok is considered one of the most important in the country.

6. *The Soviet Arctic:* all land north of the Arctic Circle; it is suggested that the northerly port of Archangel, though slightly south of the Arctic Circle, be included in a consideration of this area. Far from disregarding this territory as useless or uninhabitable, the Soviets know it to be a vital section of their land. In 1935, after much exploration and the establishment of numerous weather and radio outposts, a summer sea route, navigable from July to October, was opened across the Arctic Ocean from Vladivostok to Archangel and Murmansk. The new route will be important in the transportation of lumber, fish, minerals, and furs, which constitute the wealth of this Arctic area.

References on Geography:

Cressey, George B., *Asia's Land and Peoples,* Chapter XV-XXI.
Goodall, *Soviet Russia in Maps.*
Mikhailov, Nicholas, *Land of the Soviets.*
Stembridge, Jasper H., *An Atlas of the U.S.S.R.*
Williams, Albert Rhys, *The Soviets,* pp. 3-4; pp. 115-134.

Some Suggested Activities on Geography:

1. "So extensive is the Soviet Union that many of its citizens live farther away from Moscow than do the people of New York."
   Using a globe, find the distance between Moscow and:
   1. New York
   2. Vladivostok
   3. London
   4. Novosibirsk
   5. Warsaw
   6. Tashkent
   7. Helsinki
   8. Petropavlovsk
   9. Berlin
   10. Alma-Ata

   On a world map, place these cities, connecting each to Moscow with a line on which the mileage of each distance is given.

2. A friend has written to you saying, "I think Russia's wealth is exaggerated; after all, most of it is Siberian waste land, isn't it?" On the other hand, Stalin has said that the Soviet Union "has ample resources for building an abundant, well-rounded economy." Try to find the facts about this matter, and write a reply to your friend.
   See Mikhailov, *Land of the Soviets,* pp. 20-25.
   Williams, *The Soviets,* pp. 115-134.
   Hindus, *Russia and Japan,* Chapters VIII, IX, and X.
   Pares, *Russia and the Peace,* Chapter XX, "The Russian Middle West."

3. The distance from Leningrad to Vladivostok via the Suez or Panama Canal is approximately 14,500 miles; along the northern sea route, the distance between these two points is only 9,950 miles. Explorers, since the fifteenth century, have searched for the "Northeast Passage" around Asia. In 1935, this sea route. through the Bering Strait, past Alaska, and west through the Arctic Ocean, was opened by the Soviets for commercial traffic. Prepare to tell the class the story of the "Northeast Passage" and to describe the advantages of sailing from Leningrad to Vladivostok via the Suez, via the Panama, and via the northern route. Be prepared to use a wall map in describing the three possible routes.
   See Cressey, *Asia's Land and Peoples,* p. 363.
   "Neighbors Across the Arctic," in *Survey Graphic,* February, 1944.
   Mikhailov, *Land of the Soviets,* pp. 176-179.

4. (a) Using any type of graph which seems suitable, show the following statistics of the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R.:

Acres of land devoted to wheat growing in 1937:

U.S.A. 64,422,000 U.S.S.R. 102,258,000

Bushels of wheat produced in 1937:

U.S.A. 875,676,000 U.S.S.R. 1,633,333,333

(Figures for U.S.A. from World Almanac; for U.S.S.R., from Mikhailov, *Land of the Soviets.*)

(b) Why may a comparison of a country's recent production figures with those of former years be more significant than a comparison with another country? Show in any graphic form the following increase of cotton acreage in the U.S.S.R.:

Acres devoted to cotton, 1913: 1,729,000

Acres devoted to cotton, 1937: 5,187,000

5. Many people think of the Soviet Union as being only a cold country. Take an imaginary trip in July and August through subtropical parts of the U.S.S.R. Write a story of your imaginary trip, telling what you saw in the way of vegetation and agricultural crops, the dress of the people, and any other effects of the climate.

See Cressey, *Asia's Land and Peoples,* climate maps; also pp. 275-278.
Mikhailov, *Land of the Soviets,* for descriptions of special sections of the country.

6. The following is suggested as a possible class project: one class member might draw a large blackboard map of the U.S.S.R. Groups might then assume responsibiilty to insert:

a. rivers
b. mountains
c. seas
d. agricultural areas (pictures, as of wheat, might be used)
e. industrial centers (pictures, as of oil derricks, factory buildings, might be sketched)
f. important inland cities
g. important seaports
h. islands

Two board maps might well be used, either to create a friendly rivalry, thus having more individual members participating in the map work, or two maps might be used to depict different information. A symbol map is shown on inside covers of Williams, *The Soviets.*

7. On a map of the U.S.S.R., superimpose a map of the U.S.A., being sure that they have been made on a comparable scale. To the left, place significant statistics of the U.S.S.R., to the right, those of the U.S.A., concerning:

a. land area
b. population
c. coal production, 1938
d. oil production, 1938
e. wheat production, 1938
f. cotton production, 1938

Information concerning the Soviet Union may be found in:
Mikhailov, *Land of the Soviets.*
Goodall, *Soviet Russia in Maps*
Stembridge, *An Atlas of the U.S.S.R.*

8. At one point in the Bering Strait, the Diomede Islands, one of which is United States territory, and one, a part of the U.S.S.R., are only about three miles apart. "The Little Diomede belongs to the U.S.A., Big Diomede to the U.S.S.R.; the islanders are Eskimos . . . who . . . speak the same language, attend each other's movies and dances, intermarry. . . . Today and tomorrow meet in the narrow boundary between the islands. . . . Winter ice . . . links the two islands like a paved road. . . . An American islander may leave Little Diomede on Wednesday, reach Big Diomede an hour or two later on Thursday . . . eat some muktuk and seal oil, laugh and 'chase around' (a favorite expression) and return home to Wednesday again . . . but those on one island pay allegiance to the Stars and Stripes, those of the other to the Hammer and Sickle." Read "Neighbors Across the Arctic" by Ruth Gruber, *Survey Graphic,* February, 1944. Can you imagine what island visitors might say to one another? Write an exchange of conversation among imaginary U.S.S.R. and U.S.A. islanders. Perhaps the class may produce a skit based on the various conversations written by members of the class.

9. After reading "Neighbors Across the Arctic," *Survey Graphic,* February, 1944, draw a cartoon illustrating the neighborliness of the inhabitants of the two Diomede Islands.

10. What has happened to U.S.S.R. resources during World War II? Read "Wartime Changes in the Use of and Search for Soviet Natural Resources" by Andrew Steiger in *The U.S.S.R. in Reconstruction.* Make a report to the class.

11. You have heard and read of the Russian steppes. What and where are they? For what purposes are they usable? Indicate their location on a map, and below the map, show the use of these areas.
References: Cressey, *Asia's Land and Peoples,* p. 283.
Goodall, *Soviet Russia in Maps.*
Stembridge, *An Atlas of the U.S.S.R.*

12. Find a map which, like "The World News of the Week Map" (News Map of the Week, Inc., 1512 Orleans St., Chicago, Illinois), gives the time belts around the world. Make a circle chart, like a clock. Place Leningrad at twelve noon, and another Soviet Union locality at every hour possible. Below your chart, tell what time it is at the different hours in:
Boston Chicago Los Angeles Honolulu Melbourne Hong Kong

II. Peoples and Population

A. Composition and Distribution

The peoples of the U.S.S.R. present a complex pattern of cultural progress and ethnic strains. Within the Soviet Union are some 189 national groups, of which about fifty comprise 99.5% of the total population of approximately 202,000,000. (Population statistics given are based on estimates made in 1941 and include persons in regions annexed in 1939 and 1940.) Predominant ethnic strains are the Slavs (about 151,000,000), the Turco-Tatars (about 21,000,000), the Japhetic groups (about 6,000,000), the Jews (about 5,200,000), and the Finno-Ugrians (about 4,600,000). Scattered over the vast expanse of the world's largest land mass in one political unit, these nationalities have been organized into political subdivisions, each bearing the name of its major racial stock. There are sixteen Union Republics, and within these are Autonomous Republics, Autonomous Regions, and National Districts. All these groups are permitted many privileges and rights as a part of the minority policy of the Soviet Union.

The Slavs form the chief ethnic strain and number about three-fourths of the total population. The Great Russians, the largest Slavic unit, live chiefly within the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (Russia proper). This is the most heavily populated of the Union Republics, covering an area of 6,322,350 square miles from western Soviet Europe across Siberia to the Pacific, and holding an estimated total of 114,000,000 persons. This Slavic group first pushed Tsarist power to the Trans-Caucasus, to Central Asia, and to the Pacific, assimilating and conquering the minorities they encountered. Pan-Slavism, the movement to unite all Slavs whether in western Russia, eastern Europe, or the Balkans, was pursued tirelessly by the Great Russians, who advanced steadily for over three centuries, spreading over areas at an estimated daily rate of about sixty square miles. Carrying the Greek Orthodox faith and Tsarist tyranny with them, this people established a huge empire whose nationality policy was based upon oppression of all minority groups.

Today, in contrast to this repression, the U.S.S.R. encourages nationalities to follow their own customs and to maintain their own institutions; thus the peoples of the Soviet Union present many interesting traits and varying degrees of cultural development. Illustrative of this are the minorities of the Russian Union Republic, which contains the greatest number of political subdivisions of any Republic in the U.S.S.R. The Komi (meaning "We, the people") live in the northwest. Surrounded by mountains and influenced by the cold climate, this nationality has progressed rapidly under the Soviets. In the Volga basin are six Autonomous Republics, the Mordovian, Chuvash, Mari, Tatar, Bashkir, and Udmurt. The hospitable Bashkirs, the Chuvash, who although of Turkic origin use many Finnish words, and the Mordovians have all developed their own unique cultures. The Tatars of Kazan, skilled leather workers, Moslem in belief and custom, are considered the most advanced of the descendants of the Asiatic hordes which swept into Russia from the East, under Tamerlane and Genghis Khan.

Other widely scattered groups in the Russian Republic range from the horse-breeding Kalmyks of the southern Caucasus and the metal-working mountaineers of Daghestan, to the backward tribe of Chukchis (meaning "rich in reindeer") in the far northeast of Siberia and the highly developed Jewish Autonomous Region of the southeast. Some additional minorities are the vigorous Yakuts of the largest Autonomous Republic of the U.S.S.R., the Oirots, who closely resemble the American Indian, and, near Lake Baikal, the Buriat-Mongolians, whose priests follow many ideas common to Buddhism.

Next to the Russian Republic on the west, from north to south, are seven republics. The Karelo-Finnish, predominantly of Finno-Ugrian stock, and from whose ballads in the *Kalevala* Longfellow took his rhythm for *Hiawatha,* and the Moldavian are two examples of progress from the status of an Autonomous Republic to that of a Union Republic. Estonia and Latvia, whose peoples are mainly Lutheran, and Lithuania, chiefly Catholic, are the three Baltic Republics so essential to Soviet defense. South of these are the Ukrainians and Byelo-Russians,

the second and third largest Soviet groups, respectively. The former, occupying the richest soil in the Soviet Union, are highly cultured; the latter are commonly known as White Russians, but should not be confused with the emigrants of the Revolution.

The most complex racial pattern is in the Caucasus and Trans-Caucasus region. Georgia, the birthplace of Stalin, who is the symbol of the new importance of minority groups, is rich in history. Its people, Christianized in 345, were oppressed by many rulers, but resisted all kinds of autocracy. The Georgian S.S.R. contains, among other groups, the Abkhazians, in whose region is a small Negro unit, and the Khevsurs, thought to be descendants of a lost band of Crusaders. Armenia, the scene of historic invasions, and Azerbaidzhan, the "Land of Fire," are two other Union Republics where progress in recent years has been remarkable.

In the southern part of Soviet Central Asia, the region between the Caspian Sea and the Sinkiang province of China, lie five Union Republics, all examples of Soviet progress in conquering the desert and in decreasing the backwardness of peoples. The biggest is the Kazakh S.S.R., now a wartime industrial center, with coal mines, tractor stations, and large copper deposits. The Uzbek S.S.R., the most advanced and wealthy district of the area, derives much of its wealth from cotton growing. Its ancient cities of Samarkand and Bokhara are excellent examples of Moslem architecture; they are still famous in this desert land of Central Asia.

South of Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan are Turkmenia, noted for its carpets, the Tadzhik S.S.R., whose Moslem peoples are closely related to the Iranians, and the Kirgiz S.S.R., developing today as a silk, cotton, and livestock center. For those seeking the picturesque or the unusual, for those interested in archaeology or anthropology, or for those studying customs or history, the U.S.S.R. presents the most complex yet freely developed pattern of cultures in the world.

STATISTICS ON UNION REPUBLICS[1]

REPUBLIC	PREDOMINANT ETHNIC STRAIN	POPULATION (ESTIMATED AS OF JULY, 1941)	AREA (IN SQUARE MILES)	CAPITAL
Russia	Slav	114,337,428	6,322,350	Moscow
Ukraine	Slav	42,272,943	202,540	Kiev
Byelo-Russia	Slav	10,525,511	89,300	Minsk
Uzbekistan	Turco-Tatar	6,601,619	146,000	Tashkent
Kazakhstan	Turco-Tatar	6,458,175	1,059,700	Alma-Ata
Georgia	Japhetic	3,722,252	26,875	Tbilisi
Azerbaidzhan	Turco-Tatar	3,372,794	33,200	Baku
Lithuania	Baltic	3,134,070	22,800	Vilna
Moldavia	Rumanian	2,321,225	13,680	Kishinev
Latvia	Baltic	1,950,502	24,700	Riga
Tadzhikstan	Iranian	1,560,540	55,545	Stalinabad
Kirgizia	Turco-Tatar	1,533,439	75,950	Frunze
Armenia	Japhetic	1,346,709	11,580	Erevan
Turkmenia	Turco-Tatar	1,317,693	171,250	Ashkhabad
Estonia	Finno-Ugrian	1,120,000	18,050	Tallinn
Karelo-Finnish	Finno-Ugrian	892,977	64,220	Petrozavodsk

Total Population 202,467,877; Area 8,337,740

B. Recent population trends

The most recent population trends have been a rapidly increasing and youthful population, constantly growing urban groups, and relatively little migration into and out of the U.S.S.R. Especially noteworthy is the fact that about two-thirds of the people are under thirty; these will form a strong nucleus in post-war activities. Although the effects of the war cannot now be predicted fully, the previously mentioned tendencies will probably continue, although many migrants to the Soviet East will continue to return to the West as the war draws nearer to its close. Another factor to be considered is that of deaths caused by the war, which have been estimated, approximately, at between ten and fifteen millions. The energies of Russia for the next few years must be concentrated upon reconstruction and thus move-

[1]Republics are listed in order of population.

ments of population will be somewhat determined by future economic planning.

References on Peoples and Population:

Lamont, C., "The Peoples of the Soviet Union," *Soviet Russia Today,* June, 1944, pp. 16-17, 31.

Lamont, C., "The Union Republics and Subdivisions," *Soviet Russia Today,* July, 1944, pp. 10, 26-27.

Lorimer, F., "Recent Population Trends in the Soviet Union," *American Sociological Review,* June, 1944, pp. 219-222.

Mikhailov, N., *Land of the Soviets,* pp. 77-325.

Williams, A. R., *The Soviets,* pp. 8-35.

Some Suggested Activities on Peoples and Population:

1. The U.S.S.R. contains some "189 peoples, speaking 150 languages and adhering to 40 religions." Study carefully the series of pictures on the peoples of the U.S.S.R. in set 1 of the *U.S.S.R.: A Pictorial Review,* numbers 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15. (This may be rented through the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship.) Note especially, in each picture, the physical characteristics of the people, their dress, and the main points of interest in the background. Choose two of the nationality groups for a more detailed study. Write a composition contrasting and comparing these two groups, especially as to their physical characteristics, dress, customs, and occupations. Consult the following for information: Davies and Steiger, *Soviet Asia*; Mikhailov, *Land of the Soviets*; Williams, *The Soviets.*
2. The Caucasus Mountains, "the stony girdle of the globe," have many colorful, resourceful, and hospitable peoples, with amazing customs and traditions. Prepare an oral topic about the peoples of the Caucasus, on one of the following: history, customs, legends, dress, occupations, physical characteristics. Consult the following for information: "Family of Nations: the Soviet Union," pp. 14-18; Mikhailov, *Land of the Soviets,* pp. 236-279; Williams, *The Soviets,* pp. 8-19.
3. Map Study of the Peoples of the Soviet Union: On a map of the U.S.S.R. place the sixteen Union Republics. In each republic place a symbol which indicates an outstanding item about the major nationality unit of that republic. You may use freehand sketches or pictures. Consult these references: Wall Map of the U.S.S.R.; Mikhailov, *Land of the Soviets*; Williams, *The Soviets,* pp. 8-19 (and see map at end of book.)
4. Imagine that you are a magazine correspondent and that you have been assigned to visit one of the republics of the Soviet Union. Write an article describing the interesting and unusual items about the nationality group which is the predominant one in the republic of your choice. Consult Davies and Steiger, *Soviet Asia,* and Mikhailov, *Land of the Soviets.*

5. The Influence of Geography on People's Lives: Choose a nationality group in one of the following regions of the U.S.S.R.: Arctic, Ukraine, Crimea, Caucasus, Central Asia, Far East. Prepare an oral topic on the ways in which the geographical surroundings have influenced the lives and habits of the group you have chosen. These oral topics will be used as a basis for class discussion, comparing and contrasting the influence of geography upon the lives of the peoples of the Soviet Union and of the United States. Consult: Davies and Steiger, *Soviet Asia*; Mikhailov, *Land of the Soviets*; Williams, *The Soviets.*
6. Make arrangements for showing the films "Armenia" and "Kazakhstan." Preview the films and call the attention of the class to the following items about each film: industry, agriculture, buildings, scenery, dress. After the films have been shown, conduct a class discussion comparing and contrasting Armenia and Kazakhstan.
7. "Russia is not a country; it is a world." Choose a nationality group of the U.S.S.R. and prepare a combination pictorial and written display for the bulletin board. Consult other pupils who are working on this activity and form a committee to arrange the bulletin board displays. Suggestions for topics: the Komi—*Junior Red Cross Journal.* May, 1944; the Jews—*Tenth Anniversary Jewish Autonomous Region.* May, 1944 (American-Birobidjan Committee, New York); the Uzbeks, Yakuts, Armenians, Estonians—*Family of Nations: the Soviet Union.*

III. History

A. Pre-Revolutionary

1. *Outstanding Characteristics*

There were four outstanding features of the history of this large country before the Revolution. First, the overwhelming majority of the people were peasants, poor and ignorant, as contrasted with a small group of rich land-owning nobles. There was a small number of poverty-stricken industrial workers in St. Petersburg (now Leningrad), Moscow, and other urban centers. Secondly, the Tsarist regime, which was in part made possible by the peasant character of the people, was autocratic and harsh, corrupt and inefficient. A third characteristic of this regime was the "Russification" of the various national and minority groups in the country. There was no opportunity for Jews, Armenians, Poles, or any other groups to develop their own cultural heritage. Instead, each group was forced to speak

the Russian language, conform to the established state Church, and in every way relinquish its own cultural institutions. A fourth feature of the Tsarist regime was the power of the Greek Orthodox Church, the state religion, which in itself was a large land-owning body, holding great power over the minds and lives of the illiterate and superstitious masses. In addition to being a powerful land-holding institution, the Church was corrupt, an ally of the government in autocratic policies.

2. *Opposing Elements*

Before the Revolution of 1917, there were attempts made by various groups to improve conditions. The intellectuals and writers, such as Tolstoy, Dostoievsky, and others, denounced the autocratic policies of the Tsar, and exposed the poverty of the masses. Following the defeat of Russia by Japan in the war of 1904-05, a Revolution was attempted, with strikes among the various groups of industrial workers. Councils, or *soviets* as they were called, were organized among the workers. This movement resulted in forcing the Tsar to permit the election of a national assembly, the Duma. Though not representing the masses, the Duma was a partial check on the power of the Tsar. However, two Dumas were dissolved by him, and the third was composed of conservative nationalist groups. Severe punishment and exile of revolutionary groups followed the 1905 disturbances. The peasants, as well as the labor groups, revolted in several parts of Russia, but were suppressed with great cruelty.

B. Revolutionary Period

1. *Revolution of 1917 and World War I*

Prior to the October Revolution of 1917, the government was taken over in the February Revolution by the liberal, republican elements, mostly middle-class. Kerensky was the most prominent leader of this group. The radical party known as the Bolsheviks, however, was not satisfied, and won over the workers for the establishment of a government of the proletariat. Lenin, who had been in exile since 1907, returned in April, 1917, and,

under his leadership, the Bolsheviks took control of the government about six months later.

The October revolution was in part the outgrowth of the unrest of the people since 1905 and before, and in part the result of World War I, when Russia was allied with Great Britain and France. Due to the inefficient and corrupt government, the people were starving, and the army, composed largely of peasants, was poorly clad, ill-fed and inadequately equipped. This, coupled with the defeat of Russia by the Germans, led to revolt and mutiny in the army, strikes in Moscow and Petrograd, and the setting up of a new Soviet regime. A separate peace, containing severe terms against Russia, was made with Germany by the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk in 1918.

2. *Civil War and Allied Intervention*

The first Soviet Constitution was written in 1918. However, from 1918 to 1920, there was Civil War in Russia, complicated by the intervention of the Allies, who aided the anti-Bolshevik groups (called the "White Russians"). Added to this were the evil social and economic conditions resulting from the war, in which more than two and a half million Russian people had been killed. From 1918 to 1920, the country was put on an economic basis of so-called "war communism," which caused great hardship and discontent. The treatment of the anti-Bolsheviks was harsh and often unjust, many being executed, and many fleeing to other countries. The extreme measures taken by the Bolsheviks to put an end to Civil War caused a revulsion of feeling among the western nations. This was increased by the stress laid on world revolution as the aim of the Bolsheviks, symbolized in the person of Trotsky.

C. Post-Revolution and the New Russia

In 1922 a federal state was formed, called the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, with the Russian, Ukrainian, Byelo-Russian, and Trans-Caucasian Soviet Republics. This was gradually enlarged so that today there are sixteen republics, besides other autonomous regions and districts. From 1921 to

1928 the government tried to get the country on a more secure economic basis by a policy called the New Economic Policy, in which state ownership of all natural resources and large industries was combined with the encouragement of small private consumer enterprises. This policy was abandoned in 1928, when conditions had improved. The second Constitution was drawn up in 1924. Nation-wide economic planning was adopted with three Five-Year Plans, beginning in 1928. In 1936 the new Constitution was adopted, which proclaims the aims of the Soviet Union and its achievements since 1917.

During the years 1936 to 1938, a "Fifth Column" was discovered in the Soviet Union. In ridding the country of these traitors, the government resorted to widespread trials and purges. The western countries reacted strongly against the U.S.S.R. because of the harsh treatment of these people.

D. Territorial Expansion, 1939-40

From 1939 to 1940, Russia strengthened her western borders, forming a buffer belt against threatened German attack. After Poland had been invaded by Nazi troops in 1939, the Red Army moved in on the eastern part of Poland, reoccupying western Byelo-Russia and the western Ukraine, both under Polish rule since 1921. The Baltic states, having signed mutual assistance pacts in October, 1939, with the Soviet Government, entered the Soviet Union in July, 1940. At the same time, Rumania returned Bessarabia and ceded part of Bukovina to the U.S.S.R. As a result of the Soviet-Finnish War from November, 1939, to March, 1940, the U.S.S.R. was given the right to lease the naval and air base of Hango from Finland, and 16,000 square miles of land were ceded by Finland to the Soviet Union. This land included the Karelian Isthmus and Viipuri, a belt to the west and north of Lake Ladoga, and other territory to the north.

E. The U.S.S.R. in World War II

On June 22, 1941, the Nazi army invaded the U.S.S.R. and a war all along a 2,600-mile front was begun. From the Arctic to the Black Sea the Soviets were obliged to fight. Hitler mis-

takenly thought that conquest of the U.S.S.R. would be quick and comparatively easy. He did not realize how well prepared the Soviet Union was from an industrial, agricultural, and military viewpoint. Nor did Hitler anticipate the loyalty to the U.S.S.R. of the various national and minority groups in the Soviet Union. He had planned to win them to his side and use them in dismembering the U.S.S.R. Instead of a quick victory, however, the Nazi army was met with strong resistance, though at first it succeeded in pushing back the Red Army.

During the first six months of the German drive, the Baltic States were occupied by Hitler's forces; Leningrad was besieged and cut off from the rest of the Soviet world; Moscow was almost encircled, and most of the government officials moved to Kuibyshev farther east. In the south, Odessa on the Black Sea was captured, Kiev and most of the Ukraine were conquered. The Nazis were elated with their success, but the first winter of 1941-1942 showed them that victory was not theirs. Although the Russians were well equipped for the long cold winter, they endured much, but nothing compared to the Germans, thinly clad, poorly shod, and suffering constant casualties from frost-bite and freezing. The Red Army not only held the German line, but broke the siege of Moscow, also recapturing Rostov-on-Don, near the Sea of Azov.

In the spring of 1942, the Germans launched a second offensive, this time striking for the rich oil fields of the Caucasus. They succeeded in retaking Rostov-on-Don, and captured Sevastopol on the Crimean Peninsula. During the late summer and fall of 1942, they began an attack on the city of Stalingrad on the Volga River, one of the important keys to Moscow in the north and to Baku, the oil center in the south. The siege of this city will go down in history as one of the great epics of the war. The Soviets, realizing the importance of this attack, hurled all their strength into the struggle for this strategic point. Civilians fought from house to house, and street to street, with unparalleled heroism. The western world watched breathlessly and marvelled at the resistance of the Russians. Finally, the Soviets forced the Nazis to surrender at Stalingrad in January,

1943. This marks the turning point in the war, and from this time on, the Red Army began its move to the west, reconquering much strategic territory.

The North Caucasus, the rich Donets basin, and much of the Ukraine were recaptured by the summer of 1943. Throughout the next year, the Red Army continued to advance westward so that by September of 1944, it had reoccupied most of the Ukraine and had pushed far into the Baltic states, and into Poland beyond the Vistula River. By offensives in the north and south the Soviet forces knocked Finland, Rumania, and Bulgaria out of the war against the United Nations.

In May, 1941, before the invasion started, Stalin, who up to that time had only held the office of Secretary-General of the Communist Party, became Premier. Later, during the first part of the war, he assumed the positions of Commissar of Defense and Commander-in-Chief of the Red Army with the title of Marshal.

The whole world has been surprised at the strength and success of the Red Army. One of the secrets of its strength is the emphasis which is placed in Soviet Russia upon physical fitness. Another reason for the army's success is the efficiency of the government in keeping up the increasing production of necessary equipment, and supplying the armed forces with food, clothing, and arms. The contrast with the inefficiency of the government in the last world war, under the Tsarist regime, is very noticeable. At that time, industry was on a very small scale, the transportation system was inefficient and poor, and there was corruption in government circles. Today, the smoothness and speed of the transportation facilities, despite many handicaps, have helped to keep the army equipped with needed food, and have kept the civilian population from the starvation which it suffered in the First World War.

Western nations have also been surprised at the efficiency of the evacuation of invaded territories. Among the agricultural groups, brigades were formed, some to take charge of the evacuation of children; others, of foodstuffs and animals. In industry, production was kept up and increased over pre-war times, even

while whole factories, machines and workers, were moved east to places of safety. During the whole evacuation, there was no blocking of roads by civilians fleeing in panic, as in other countries. As proof of the advance in medical science, there were no epidemics of typhus or other diseases when the refugees poured into new regions, as was the case in World War I.

With the reconquest of occupied territory, scientific plans are being carried out in reconstructing the areas devastated by the Nazi forces. Authentic reports show that the invaders not only captured strategic military positions, but sacked and ravaged centers of culture, and buildings containing relics of Russian history, as well as new centers of medicine and science. Treatment of civilians who did not succeed in escaping was brutal and inhuman. These problems, as well as the care of the returning army veterans, are being faced by the Soviet Government.

References on History:

Vernadsky, *History of Russia,* Chapters 10 through 20.
Pratt, *From Tsarist Empire to Socialism,* Chapters 4 through 8.
Duranty, *U.S.S.R.,* pp. 11-65 and 241-280.
Strong, *The Soviets Expected It.*

Some Suggested Activities on History:

1. "No land, no people and no period could at first sight seem to the onlookers less propitious as a setting for the world's greatest experiment." Study this quotation from Johnson's *The Soviet Power,* and then think through the history of the Tsarist regime as far as you have studied. Be ready to give evidence of the truth of this statement to the class in a discussion.
2. In parallel columns list the causes contributing to the Revolution of 1917, and the ways by which the Soviet Government is attempting to remove these causes of discontent. (Refer to the Constitution of 1936, and Williams, *The Soviets.*)
3. One of the officials of the Greek Orthodox Church said, after the Revolution of 1917, "The extraordinary Byzantine glitter of our Orthodox services has been our greatest curse. Our Church has striven after external gorgeousness at the expense of inner virtue, after showy splendour at the cost of spiritual perfection. It acquired pomp, power, riches, but lost its soul."
   Write a paper on the Russian Church before the Revolution explaining the criticism made in the above quotation.
4. Make a map showing the expansion of the Soviet Union from July, 1939, to July, 1940. Refer to Stembridge, *An Atlas of the U.S.S.R.*

5. Let one group of pupils read Hindus, *Humanity Uprooted,* and another group read Hindus, *Mother Russia.* On the basis of their reading, discuss the conditions in Soviet Russia just after the Revolution and in the early 1940's.
6. Make a Time Chart showing important events in Russia, Western Europe, China, and Japan from 1900 to July, 1942.
   (Refer to Time Chart at end of this section and use Becker's *Modern History.*)
7. The Soviet Union differed socially, economically and politically in 1936 from the Soviet Union in 1924, when the second Constitution was adopted. Write a paper showing how the 1936 Constitution reflects these changes. (Use the Constitution for reference.)
8. Make a map showing transportation facilities in Russia in 1914 and in 1940 (Refer to the maps of Denoyer-Geppert, and to Stembridge, *An Atlas of the U.S.S.R.*)
9. "War shows up the inefficiency of a Government."
   Prepare to discuss and compare the efficiency of the Russian Government in 1914 during World War I with that of the Soviet Government in this war regarding: transportation, industrial production, care of the army, feeding the population, standard of living of the people.
10. "It is wrong to say that Lenin made the Russian Revolution. You don't make a revolution; it occurs. . . . Lenin said that circumstances cannot be created, but his life proved that a leader can direct." (Walter Duranty, *USSR*). Read the life of Lenin and report to the class on how far this statement is true in your opinion.
11. On a map show where the farthest line of German advance was in 1942, and where the approximate line of battle between the Red Army and Nazi Army is today.
12. "Joseph Stalin, first Soviet Commissar of Nationalities, symbolized the new importance of minorities."
    Read the life of Stalin, and write a paper showing how his life symbolizes the old and the new history of Russia.
    (Refer to Ludwig, *Life of Stalin,* and Williams, *The Soviets,* pp. 93-102.)
13. Have various members of the class look up the following people and report to class in ten-minute talks: Trotsky; Nadezhda K. Krupskaya (Lenin's widow); Marshal Timoshenko; Molotov; Plotnikova; Marshal Zhukov; Ilya Ehrenburg; Marshal Voroshilov; Litvinov; Andrei A. Gromyko; Peter Kapitsa.
    (For information, use Vernadsky, *History of Russia;* and write for free bulletins from the Embassy of the U.S.S.R., Washington, D. C.)
14. Write a paper comparing Stalin and Peter the Great in their aims and achievements for Russia.
15. Suggest to the class that they fill kits for Russian Relief. These kits are sent to the civilians returning to the reoccupied areas. Details about

the kits and the list of articles to be included in the kits may be procured from Russian War Relief. (See Appendix for address.)

16. Walter Duranty in the *New York Times* magazine section for July 30, 1944, asks: "Is the Russian Revolution over, or at least is it settling down, as other revolutionary movements have done, to something more mellow and conservative?"
Think over this question, in the light of your study of the Soviet Union, and prepare to discuss it in class.

TIME CHART OF PRINCIPAL EVENTS IN CONNECTION WITH STUDY OF THE SOVIET UNION

DATE	EVENTS
August, 1914	Entrance of Tsarist Russia into World War I.
1915-1916	Frequent defeat of Russian army and increasing discontent of people.
March 12, 1917	Revolution (known as "February Revolution," since Russia used old calendar); abdication of Tsar Nicholas II; control by Moderates.
March 15, 1917	Formation of Provisional Government.
November 7, 1917	Bolshevik Revolution (according to the calendar used then, it was October.)
March, 1918	Treaty of Brest-Litovsk with Germany.
1918-1919	Exclusion of Soviets from Versailles Conference.
1919	Founding of Communist International (called "Third International" or "Commintern.")
1918-1920	Civil War in Russia and Allied intervention.
1921-1922	Widespread famine in European Russia.
1921-1928	New Economic Policy.
December, 1922	Formation of Union of Soviet Socialist Republics by Russian, Ukrainian, Byelo-Russian and Trans-Caucasian Republics.
January, 1924	Adoption of first Constitution of U.S.S.R. as whole.
January 21, 1924	Death of Lenin. Beginning of leadership of Stalin, as Secretary of Communist Party.
1928	Signing by Soviet Union of Kellogg-Briand Pact.
1928-1932	First Five-Year Plan.
November, 1933	Recognition of U.S.S.R. by U.S.A.
September, 1934	Entrance of Soviet Union into League of Nations.
1933-1937	Second Five-Year Plan.
November, 1936	Anti-Comintern Pact between Germany and Japan.
December, 1936	Adoption of new U.S.S.R. Constitution.
1936-1938	Treason trials and purges.
1938-1942	Third Five-Year Plan.

TIME CHART OF PRINCIPAL EVENTS IN CONNECTION WITH STUDY OF THE SOVIET UNION (Cont'd)

DATE	EVENTS
September, 1938	Munich Agreement between England, France, Italy, and Germany, ignoring Soviet Union.
August, 1939	Soviet-German Treaty of Non-Aggression.
September, 1939	Outbreak of World War II with invasion of Poland by Germany.
October, 1939	Soviet occupation of eastern Poland.
November, 1939-March, 1940	Soviet-Finnish War. Acquisition by Soviet Union of Hango and Karelian Isthmus.
June-August, 1940	Soviet acquisition of Baltic States, Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina.
April, 1941	Neutrality Pact between Soviet Union and Japan.
June 22, 1941	Nazi Invasion of U.S.S.R.
July 12, 1941	Anglo-Soviet Military Alliance.
December, 1941	Soviet-Polish Declaration of Friendship and Mutual Assistance.
January 1, 1942	Soviet Union signatory to United Nations Agreement.
1941-1942	Failure of campaigns against Moscow, Leningrad, and Stalingrad; assumption by Stalin of positions of Commissar of Defense and Commander-in-Chief of the Red Army.
May and June, 1942	Molotov's visit to London and Washington: Anglo-Soviet 20-Year Mutual Assistance Treaty; American-Soviet Lend-Lease Agreement.
January, 1943	Surrender of German forces at Stalingrad; beginning of great Red Army offensive.
May, 1943	Official dissolution of Comintern.
October, 1943	Conference at Moscow (Hull, Eden and Molotov).
November, 1943	Conference at Teheran in Iran (Churchill, Roosevelt, and Stalin).
By September 15, 1944	Reoccupation by Red Army of practically all Soviet Europe except about half of the Baltic States. Drive into Poland to gates of Warsaw and across Rumania to Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, and Hungary. Rumania, Finland, and Bulgaria make peace with Soviet Russia and its allies.

IV. Soviet Life Today

A. Government

1. *Organization of the Central Government*

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is a federated state of sixteen Union Republics and smaller national groups whose rights and powers are listed in the Constitution of 1936, an important document in the history of world governments. The Central Government, with power derived from the Soviets (Councils or Committees) of Working People's Deputies, has an elaborate structure.

The Supreme Soviet is the highest legislative authority in the U.S.S.R. This parliamentary body consists of the Soviet of the Union, elected representatives of the people as a whole, and of the Soviet of Nationalities, elected representatives of the national groups. Laws are passed by majority vote of both houses; enumerated powers are exercised jointly; and all other branches of the federal government are responsible to this Supreme Soviet.

The Presidium (Executive Committee), elected by the Supreme Soviet, carries on the functions of that body between sessions. This small group of forty-two members wields great power, since it is a continuous body.

Executive and administrative powers are largely vested in the Council of People's Commissars. This group, which corresponds to the cabinet of Great Britain, is appointed by the Supreme Soviet and consists of some forty-three commissariats or departments. It is accountable to the Supreme Soviet and, between sessions of that body, to the Presidium.

Although, on occasion, judicial matters are dealt with directly by the Supreme Soviet or Presidium, the administration of justice is vested primarily in the Supreme Court and a Chief Prosecutor or State Attorney. In common with other branches, this organ of government is elected by and is responsible to the Supreme Soviet.

In 1941, Stalin, who before this had held no official position as head of the state, was named Premier and Commissar for

Defense. A special State Defense Council, an inner war cabinet, was also set up.

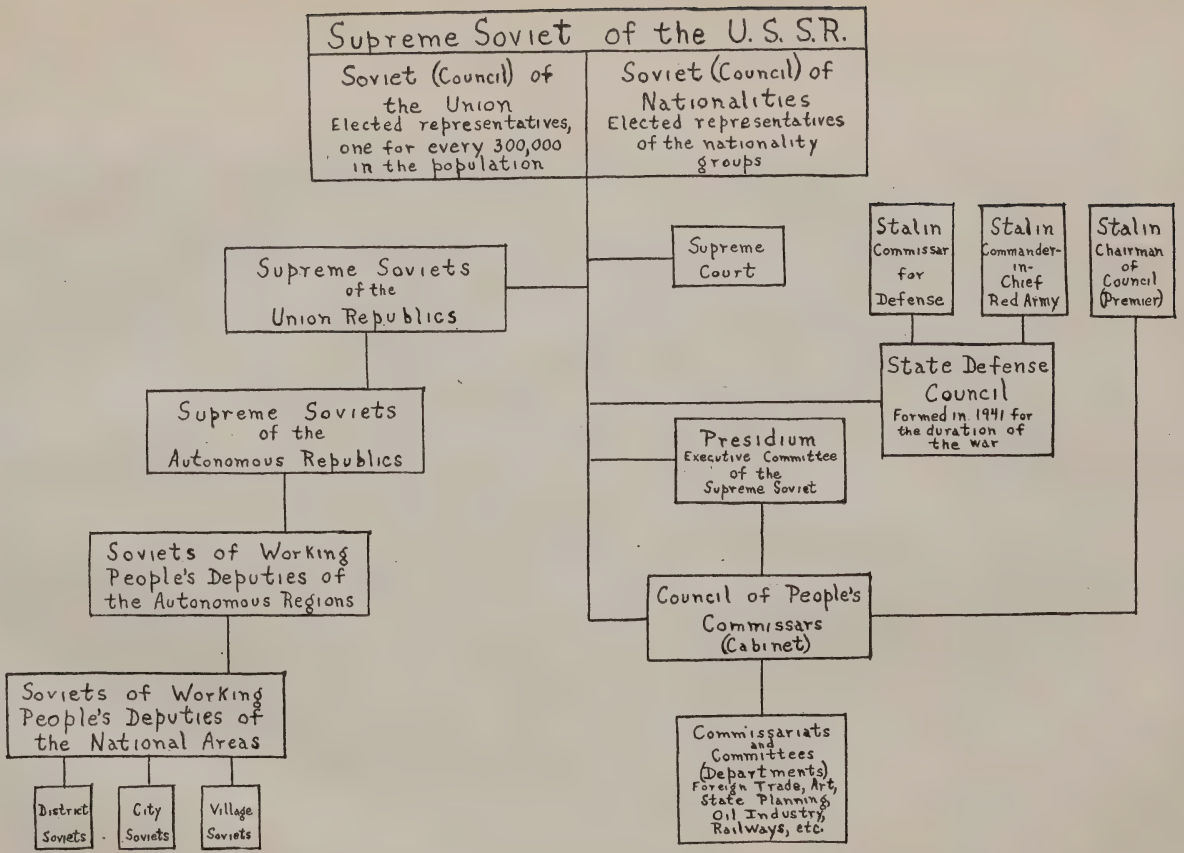
A distinctive characteristic of the government is the fact that it has more directly delegated economic powers than do the governments of most nations. Since "all power belongs to the working people of town and country," "the socialist ownership of the means and instruments of production" is guaranteed. (Constitution, Art. 3 and 4).

2. *Organization of Government in the Republics*

In the organization of the Soviet Union the nationality groups are classified into the following categories: Union Republics, with a high degree of self-government; Autonomous Republics, in a less advanced stage of self-government; Autonomous Regions, with limited self-government; and National Districts (Areas), the least developed or smaller groups. The governmental structure of these units is similar to that of the Central Government, except that their Soviets are unicameral.

Final authority in both regional and local governments lies in the Soviets of Working People's Deputies, elected "on the basis of universal, direct and equal suffrage by secret ballot." (Constitution, Art. 134). The whole structure may be likened to a pyramid whose base is formed by the local Soviets; above these stand those of the townships, regions, provinces, territories, republics, and finally the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. The local councils, whether large or small, have numerous economic and social responsibilities, as well as political duties. Since sessions are short and members are busy in their regular occupations, each Soviet elects an Executive Committee to carry on its functions between meetings.

Each Union Republic and each Autonomous Republic has its own constitution, governing units, and language; each Region and District also has self-government and may in time become at least an Autonomous Republic. Although certain powers are surrendered to the Central Government, each nationality maintains its own customs and institutions. In February, 1944, Union Republics were granted the right to send diplomats to foreign


Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R.
Soviet (Council) of the Union
Elected representatives, one for every 300,000 in the population
Soviet (Council) of Nationalities
Elected representatives of the nationality groups
Supreme Soviets of the Union Republics
Supreme Court
Stalin Commissar for Defense
Stalin Commander-in-Chief Red Army
Stalin Chairman of Council (Premier)
State Defense Council
Formed in 1941 for the duration of the war
Supreme Soviets of the Autonomous Republics
Presidium
Executive Committee of the Supreme Soviet
Soviets of Working People's Deputies of the Autonomous Regions
Council of People's Commissars (Cabinet)
Soviets of Working People's Deputies of the National Areas
Commissariats and Committees (Departments)
Foreign Trade, Art, State Planning, Oil Industry, Railways, etc.
District Soviets
City Soviets
Village Soviets

ORGANIZATION OF GOVERNMENT IN THE U.S.S.R.

nations and to maintain their own army formations. Such functions are, however, subject to general regulation by the Supreme Soviet. Certain rights, such as that of secession, are guaranteed to the Union Republics, but the "all-Union law prevails" in the "event of a discrepancy" between it and the law of a Republic or Region. (Constitution, Art. 20).

3. *The Role of the Communist Party*

"The most active and politically most conscious citizens in the ranks of the working class and other sections of the working people unite in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union." (Constitution, Art. 126). Although the Party has no legal connection with the government other than that of nominating candidates, as do other groups, its influence is far-reaching. The following factors prove this: a large per cent of the Supreme Soviet members belong to the Communist Party; many officials hold membership in both the Party and the Government; most legislation and government policies are planned by Party bodies before they are discussed in the Soviets; Party members, chosen for their activity in their own regions, have great influence in the local Soviets. Thus, although the membership of the Communist Party is relatively small (2,515,481 in 1941 and about 3,500,000 in 1944), it is the controlling political force in the Soviet Union.

Since the Communist Party is so important, it is necessary to examine its organization. Membership is a mark of honor and responsibility; rules for election are strict; and duties within the Party are exacting. Party units or committees are elected in towns or by small groups; these in turn elect larger Party Committees, as of a province, and so on. The highest group is the All-Union Party Congress, to which all lower councils are responsible.

The Congress delegates its duties between sessions to a Central Committee, elected by it. This Committee elects an Organization Board, which has administrative duties, and a Political Bureau, which has executive duties.

Members of the Political Bureau, headed by Stalin, who is

Secretary-General of the Party, formulate and direct Party activities. In all Party organizations matters of policy are discussed at length, but once a given decision is reached discussion concerning it ceases, and each member is expected to assist in its enforcement. The maintenance of this so-called "Party line" accounts for much of the influence of the Communists upon the government.

4. *Democratic processes*

In studying the role of democratic processes in the Soviet Union it is necessary to consider certain ideas before one can judge and compare. First, the Soviet form of government is new and this is the first time the Russian people have so fully participated in self-government. Second, the Soviet theory involves the concept that by a series of gradual but necessary steps man will finally reach the goal of communism. Socialism is regarded as the present phase of development toward the communist ideal. Restrictions upon individuals are now less severe than at the beginning of the Revolution, since the state has reached a more advanced stage. Likewise, the Constitution of 1936 is a document descriptive of Soviet ideals and achievements to date, not merely an outline of the organization of government.

Third, the meanings of words must be clear; in Soviet terminology the words "democracy" and "dictatorship" express somewhat different ideas from our usually accepted meanings. The Soviet belief is that the dictatorship of the proletariat (working classes) is democratic, as changes will occur gradually in directions guided by the will of the people. They regard this dictatorship as a temporary but necessary phase. Fourth, the fundamental principle concerning the state and the individual explains that the individual acts within the collective (group), that he has personal freedom as a member of the group, but that he must work for the group interest so that the progress of the people as a whole will be aided.

The Soviets "constitute the political foundation of the U.S.S.R." (Constitution, Art. 2), and the people express their ideas on government constantly, especially in the local councils.

Leaders and writers of the Soviet Union stress the importance of popular rule and mass control. The Constitution guarantees the rights of voting, nominating candidates, holding office, and recalling unsatisfactory officials. The elective principle operates in trade unions, on collective farms, and in the Communist Party. Although candidates for office do not have to be Party members and much discussion goes on before nominations occur, the percentage of Party members chosen in federal elections is high. The percentage of Party members chosen in local elections of Soviets and in trade unions is, however, lower. Self-criticism is encouraged and locally much discussion centers upon the efficiency of the office-holders. The policy of accountability of one group to another operates in all government and Party groups; in fact, one of the most important duties of a deputy is to keep his electorate informed. The war has increased popular participation in political affairs, since many officials have had to assume other duties in the emergency.

Many civil liberties are listed in the Constitution and methods guaranteeing these rights are definitely stated. Freedom of expression is limited so as to be "in conformity with the interests of the working people, and in order to strengthen the socialist system." (Constitution, Art. 125). Thus opposition to such *fundamental* policies as socialized industry, collective farming, the dictatorship of the workers, and socialism as a step toward communism, is prohibited. Severe, even ruthless, methods are sometimes used to enforce compliance with these principles. However, the ways in which these basic ideas are carried out can be and are widely debated. Limitations on political liberty are based upon the theory that the system is *fundamentally* sound, and that social and economic conditions will gradually improve if they are protected as they grow.

Although civil liberties, as generally understood, do not fully operate in the U.S.S.R., there are other democratic ideals which are more fully developed. Racial or ethnic democracy is one of the major contributions. Much progress has been made in securing equal rights for women in all fields of activity. Economic rights to work, to organization into labor groups, to maintenance

in old age, or in case of sickness or accident, and to "rest and leisure" (Constitution, Art. 119) are not only guaranteed by the Constitution, but are being fulfilled. The "right to education" has also been "ensured." (Constitution, Art. 121). However great the restrictions upon individuals, however extensive the admitted bureaucracy, however limited the actual control of government by the majority of the people, there can be no doubt of the faith of the Soviet citizens in their cause and of the unity of the people in the present war.

References on Government:

American Russian Institute, *The Soviet Union Today, An Outline Study,* pp. 24-35.

Constitution of the U.S.S.R.

Harper, S. N., *The Government of the Soviet Union,* pp. 42-115, 138-143, 153-158, 169-174.

Webb, S. and B., *Soviet Communism: A New Civilization?,* Vol. I, pp. 11-160, 339-451.

Williams, A. R., *The Soviets,* pp. 22-26, 41-73, 93-108.

Some Suggested Activities on Government:

1. "What's in a name?" Explain carefully, in paragraph form, the mean- of the words in the title—Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Use these references, Constitution, Art. 1-8, 13; Williams, A. R., *The Soviets,* pp. 22-24, 26, 39-45.
2. "The sovereignty of the Union Republics is limited only within the provisions set forth in Article 14 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. Outside of these provisions, each Union Republic exercises state authority independently." (Constitution, Art. 15) Study the parts of the Constitution dealing with the powers of the federal government and of the Union Republics; for class discussion prepare a statement of these powers and the reasons for such a division of power.
3. It is important to understand the meanings of terms used to describe the government of the Soviet Union. Write concise definitions of the following terms: soviet, socialism, communism, "dictatorship of the proletariat," union republic, autonomous republic, workers and peasants, state planning, collective, commissar.
4. Responsibility of one group to another (accountability) is a cardinal principle of Soviet political theory. Find the articles in the Constitution which deal with this principle; explain the examples given, as a basis for a class discussion.

5. "Members of all Soviets . . . are chosen by the electors on the basis of universal, direct and equal suffrage by secret ballot." (Constitution, Art. 134). After reading the Constitution, Art. 134-142, and Williams, *The Soviets,* pp. 41-51, describe, in writing, the qualifications for voting in the U.S.S.R., the electoral rights of citizens, and the part the citizens take in elections. Be prepared, for class discussion, to compare voting and election procedures in the Soviet Union and in the United States.

6. "'Will passionately,' said Stalin, 'and you can achieve anything, overcome anything.'" From a study of Stalin's life and work, as given in Williams, *The Soviets,* pp. 93-102, write a composition showing how Stalin has carried out the above rule in his own work.

7. The Constitution of the U.S.S.R. provides, as does the Constitution of the United States, a method of amendment. After reading the parts of both Constitutions on this topic, prepare the following for class discussion: processes of amending both Constitutions, the number of amendments to each, and a statement about the importance of being able to amend a constitution.

8. The United States of America.
The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.
In many respects the political structures of the United States and of the Soviet Union are similar, in many respects different. Study the following references and complete the chart given below: *Constitution of the U.S.,* Preamble, Art. I, II, III; *Constitution of the U.S.S.R.,* Art. 1-5, 9-12, 30-56, 60, 64-78, 102-117, 134-142; Stewart, *Land of the Soviets,* pp. 66-69.

Items of comparison	U.S.A.	U.S.S.R.
Nature of the union		
Aims of government		
Legislative branch		
Executive branch		
Judicial branch		
Relationship of state units to the central government		

After completing the chart write a composition to prove that although there are likenesses and differences in the governments of the United States and the Soviet Union, the federal principle is fundamental to both.

9. "'The Party openly admits,' says Stalin, 'that it guides and gives general direction to the government.'" Read these references: Constitution, Art. 126 and 141; Dean, *Russia at War,* pp. 34-38; and Williams, *The Soviets,* pp. 54-67. Prepare these topics for class discussion: the

Constitutional bases for the Communist Party, its organization, qualifications for membership, duties and privileges of members, the extent of its power, and a statement about the value of the one-party system as it operates in the U.S.S.R.

10. The Constitution of the U.S.S.R. not only lists rights guaranteed to its citizens, but also the means of ensuring these rights; furthermore, duties of citizens are specifically written into the Constitution. Study the Constitution and fill in a chart under these headings:

DUTIES OF CITIZENS	RIGHTS OF CITIZENS	MEANS OF ENSURING THE RIGHTS OF CITIZENS

Make a list of generalizations concerning the ways in which rights and duties are both essential to the success of popular government.

11. The United States and the Soviet Union are today pledged to the "Four Freedoms," whose continuance is therefore important as one basis for post-war coöperation. Read these references: Constitutions of the U.S. and the U.S.S.R.; the article "Russia and the Four Freedoms," in *Soviet Russia Today,* June, 1944; Stewart, *Land of the Soviets,* pp. 72-81. Write answers to the following questions:
    (1) State the rights, pertaining to the four freedoms, which are given in the two Constitutions.
    (2) By what means are these rights secured to the people by the Constitutions?
    (3) Which of the four freedoms do you consider to be:
        (a) most fully carried out in the U.S.S.R.?
        (b) least fully carried out in the U.S.S.R.?

    Give reasons to support your answers.

12. Is the U.S.S.R. a dictatorship in the same sense of the word as Nazi Germany? To prepare for class discussion on this question read these references: *Constitution of the U.S.S.R.,* Chapter X; Lamont, *Soviet Russia versus Nazi Germany.*

B. Nationality Policies

Soviet scientists have counted more than 189 races, national groups and tribes in the Soviet Union, and some 150 languages and dialects. Of the more than 202,000,000 people, only about 103,000,000 are Great Russians. Nevertheless, in Tsarist Russia the power was exercised by the Russian nation, which adopted a policy of compulsory Russification toward all other peoples. Tsarist policy aimed to curtail the industrial growth of minority peoples, to keep them in ignorance, and to foster mistrust

among the nationalities. Pogroms of the Jews were encouraged, and the Turco-Tatars massacred the Armenians by the thousands.

Against this background Soviet policy stands out in sharp distinction. The nationality policy of the Soviets is probably their most significant contribution to statecraft, and is the area in which they have outstripped other multi-national states.

In 1917, just eight days after the Bolsheviks came into power, the Declaration of Rights of Peoples of Russia was issued. It was signed by Lenin, and by Stalin, who was at that time the Commissar of Nationalities. This decree defined the basic principles of Soviet policy toward nationalities, and these principles have since been incorporated in the successive constitutions. Tsarist policies were reversed. Article 123 of the Constitution of 1936 guarantees equality of rights of citizens of the U.S.S.R. "irrespective of their nationality or race," and provides penalties for the infringement of these rights. The Soviets aim at the fullest development of each people, and have attempted to bring each of them up to the economic and cultural level of the Great Russians. Every nationality, large or small, has the opportunity to grow into a modern nation. In Tsarist Russia the idea of the inferiority of women was deeply entrenched at every level of society. In some of the retarded areas, such as those where Mohammedanism prevailed, the women were little more than servants. Now, as in all other parts of the Soviet Union, these women are entitled to equality with men in the life of the nation. Each people is assured the use of its own language in the schools and in the courts. Some nationalities possessed no written language, and Soviet scientists have reduced forty of these to writing. They have been supplied with primers, grammars, and dictionaries. Similarly, their music and folk songs have been written down. As a result of these policies there has been a revival of national cultures.

Soviet policy toward the Jews is worthy of special note because of the persecutions to which they had been subject in the Tsarist regime, and because of the attitude Nazi Germany has taken toward them. Not only do Jews have full equality with all other nationalities in the Soviet Union, but anti-

Semitism is officially a crime. There are more than five million Jews in the Soviet Union, and the Soviet Government has set apart a special territory where Jews from the U.S.S.R. or from anywhere in the world can come to live if they wish. This is the territory of Birobidjan in the Far East. In 1934 it became the Jewish Autonomous Region.

The nationalities of the U.S.S.R. are an integral part of the government. The Supreme Soviet consists of two chambers, one of which is the Soviet of Nationalities. Article 37 of the Constitution of 1936 provides that both houses shall have equal rights. Just as each state in the United States sends two representatives to the Senate, so each nationality in the Soviet Union sends deputies as follows: twenty-five from each of the union republics; eleven from each autonomous republic, five from each autonomous region, and one from each national district.

References on Nationalities:

Fischer, Louis, "Under the Soviet Rainbow," *Survey Graphic,* February, 1944.

Lamont, Corliss, "The Peoples of the Soviet Union," *Soviet Russia Today,* June, 1944.

Stern, Bernhard J., "Soviet Policy on National Minorities," *American Sociological Review,* June, 1944.

Williams, Albert Rhys, *The Soviets,* Parts 4 and 5.

Some Suggested Activities on Nationalities:

1. "In the Soviet Union there is no race problem and no feeling of national inferiority or superiority."—George Vernadsky, *A History of Russia,* p. 397.

   "Of course, all the devils of nationalism, of racial pride and chauvinism have not been extirpated."—Albert Rhys Williams, *The Russians,* p. 32.

   Here are two statements that indicate a difference of opinion. As a preparation for discussion of the treatment of minorities in the U.S.S.R. you will find it helpful to read the following:

   a. The passages from which these two statements were selected.
   b. Article 123 of the Soviet Constitution of 1936.
   c. Any other discussion of the treatment of minorities which you find interesting.

2. There are about 189 nationality groups in the Soviet Union.

   a. Construct a circle graph showing the percentage of the people who belong to each of the ten largest nationality groups, and the

total percentage belong to the remaining groups. You will find the statistics you need in the pamphlet by Vera Dean, entitled *Russia at War.*

b. Find the articles in the Constitution which deal with the rights of nationalities, and answer the following questions in writing: (1) What policy of the Soviet government prevents the most numerous group from dominating the other nationalities? (2) What political rights do the peoples of the various nationality groups have?

3. You were the Jewish owner of a small shop in Hamburg, Germany. On the eve of Hitler's rise to power you sold your shop and moved on to Leningrad, in the Soviet Union. After you have lived there for a few years, write a letter to a friend in Germany in which you try to persuade him to do as you have done.

4. In an article in the *Survey Graphic* for February, 1944, Louis Fischer says, "The Soviets catalogued men not according to blood and birth, but by class, occupations, and ideas. That is why the theory of Bolshevism is the extreme opposite of Fascism." Read the article from which this quotation is taken. Do you agree or disagree with this statement? In what ways do the Soviets and the Nazis differ in their treatment of subject nationalities? You will find good material in the pamphlet by Corliss Lamont, entitled *Soviet Russia versus Nazi Germany.* Write your conclusions in a brief paper.

5. In 1930 two white American workers in Stalingrad were irritated because an American Negro was allowed to eat in the special dining hall for foreign technicians. They were so angry that they first insulted, then attacked the Negro. The case was taken up by the Soviet officials, and there were demonstrations by labor organizations throughout the country opposing racial discrimination. The court secured proof that the attack had been made because of race hatred, and recommended that the two offenders be imprisoned for two years. The sentence was later reduced to deportation and exclusion from the Soviet Union for a period of ten years. Hold a group discussion on this case. What do you think of the court decision? What does this case show as to the effectiveness of the constitutional provision against racial discrimination?

6. At a recreation resort in the southern part of the Soviet Union recently there were several Mohammedans among other visitors. The chef was lazy and did not want to prepare the special food required by the Mohammedans. Pork was slipped into the menu under the guise of chicken. The chef was dismissed by the state authorities when this fact was discovered.

When some small boys, at this same resort, ridiculed the Mohamme-

dans at their frequent hours of prayer, they were severely reprimanded, and instruction about the Mohammedan religion was given at the local school in order to remove the cause of such behavior.

As a preparation for class discussion, prepare the following questions: (a) What do these two stories indicate about the attitude of the U.S.S.R. toward races and minority groups? (b) Look in the Constitution of 1936 and find the article which gives a specific statement on this question. Summarize its provisions. (c) Discuss the treatment of minorities in Tsarist Russia. You will find materials in the books by Pares and by A. R. Williams. (d) Why is it particularly significant that the government of the Soviet Union has a constitutional provision protecting the rights of minorities? (e) Do you think the ideas underlying this article are being applied in all parts of the world today? Give at least three specific examples to support your answer. (f) Have we in the United States such a clause in our Constitution? If so, quote the clause.

7. "The establishment of the Jewish Autonomous Region, Birobidjan, in the U.S.S.R., marked the turning of a new page in the history of the long-suffering Jewish people."

Read the pamphlet from which this quotation was taken: *Tenth Anniversary Jewish Autonomous Region,* May, 1944. (Obtainable at American-Birobidjan Committee, 103 Park Ave., New York City, 14, N. Y.) Emil Lengyel, in *Siberia,* pp. 348-357, describes this region. What problems have Jews in this region faced? Why has the population remained relatively small?

C. Economic Life

The characteristic feature in the economic life of the Soviet Union is a planned, socialist system of society, provided for in the Constitution, as opposed to a capitalist system. According to Article 5, "Socialist property in the U.S.S.R. exists either in the form of state property or in the form of coöperative and collective farm property." Article 6 states that "the land, its natural deposits, forests, mills, factories, mines, rail, and water and air transport, banks, post, telegraph and telephones, large state-organized agricultural enterprises as well as municipal enterprises and the bulk of the dwelling-houses in the cities and industrial localities are state property." In Article 12, it is stated that "work is a duty and a matter of honor for every able-bodied citizen, in accordance with the principle: 'He who does not work, neither shall he eat.' "

Over-all socialist planning, in which the key organization is

the State Planning Commission, called Gosplan, is one reason for the amazing development of the Soviet Union in the last two decades. The aims of the Five-Year Plans were four-fold. First, the object was to bring Russia up to the industrial standards of the advanced capitalistic countries. As Stalin said in 1931, "We are from fifty to one hundred years behind the advanced countries." A second aim was to provide large-scale agricultural and industrial production in order to develop a strong socialist society. As a third part of this plan, the government wished to free the country from dependence on other nations. And in the fourth place, industrialization was necessary to fortify the Soviet Union against war.

The practical application of science helped to carry out the gigantic plan, which involved industry, agriculture, transportation, and, in fact, the whole way of life of the people. A Research Institute was established in Moscow, employing over four thousand experts, technicians, geologists and statisticians, whose aim was to create a "'wasteless society."

Three Five-Year Plans were announced, the first from 1928 to 1933, aiming to develop heavy industry and to modernize agriculture. The Second Plan aimed in addition to produce light industry and some consumers' goods. And the Third Plan, which was interrupted by the war, was to increase consumers' goods and comforts for the people. In 1941, before the outbreak of the war, a Fifteen-Year Plan had been announced, but this will not be attempted until after the war. By the end of the First Plan, which was accomplished in four and a half years, Russia had changed from a primarily agricultural nation to a thoroughly industrialized one. By the end of the Second Plan, the U.S.S.R. had passed from fifth to second place in regard to total industrial output, the United States being the only nation ahead of it. Despite the extreme hardships upon the Russian people, who during the first period could buy relatively few consumers' goods, such as clothes, shoes, and butter, which might be considered necessities in other countries, the citizens worked with zeal and enthusiasm. The concerted plan for the whole country gave them a goal, and made them feel that they were

masters over the forces of nature. They saw four regions in Soviet Asia transformed from almost waste land to thriving industrial or agricultural centers. They felt that they were playing an active part in a great drama and helping to create a "new world."

One of the new regions which developed before the eyes of the people was the Chelyabinsk region, east of the Urals, with its thriving cities of Sverdlovsk, called the Chicago of the U.S.S.R., and Magnitogorsk, meaning "Iron Mountain." From 1920 to 1939 the population of Sverdlovsk grew from 70,000 to 500,000.

In the middle west of Soviet Asia, there grew up another important area, similar to the middle west in the U.S.A., with the cities of Novosibirsk and Omsk as centers. Novosibirsk increased its population from 1900 to 1939 from 5,000 to 405,590. Farther south in Central Asia, a phenomenal change took place in agriculture and industry. There are oil, coal, sulphur, lead, and zinc deposits that have been discovered and developed there. By scientific irrigation, and careful experimentation with seeds, desert land has become fertile agricultural soil, so that this section is the cotton belt of the Soviet Union, producing much more cotton than in Tsarist days. Sugar beets, rice, and oranges are also grown extensively in this region. Of recent years, too, the kok-sagyz plant has been developed there, from which rubber is extracted in large quantities. Tashkent, one of the oldest and most important cities in this region, has a population of more than 600,000 today.

The Far East, too, has developed north of Vladivostok. Here, two important cities are Khabarovsk and Komsomolsk. The youth of the Soviet Union, whose organizations are known as Komsomols, took up the challenge in 1932 of building this latter city, and literally hewed it from dense forests and overgrown swampland. From 1939 to 1944 this city grew from 70,000 to 300,000 people, and it is an important center, not only for shipbuilding and the steel industry, but a focal point for rail and water transportation.

Due to the great distances within the country, transportation is one of the most difficult problems of the U.S.S.R. Although

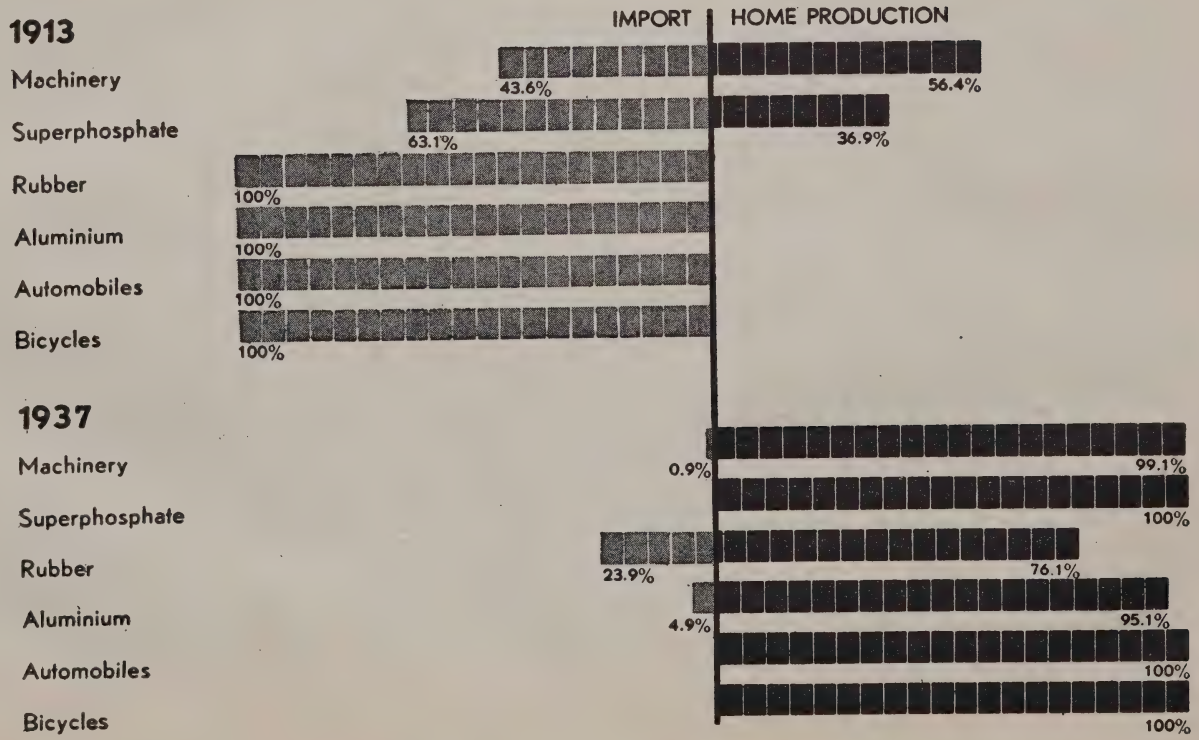
present planning calls for much more building of railroads, and although the mileage was increased by 50% from 1913 to 1940, there is still a serious shortage of rail lines and railroad cars. The mileage is very low, the Soviet Union having one-fifth the railway mileage of the U.S.A. Most of the trackage, too, is still located in Soviet Europe, and there are sections of the U.S.S.R. where there is no railroad transportation for a distance of hundreds of miles. Good roads are also relatively scarce in the country. It is easy to understand why, with lack of good rail and road transportation, the U.S.S.R. has taken great interest in air transportation. Across Arctic and wooded areas, where no other method of transportation is easily used, airplanes are of especial value. The Soviet Union in 1932 was eighteenth in the world in air transport; by 1938, the country was ninth in this respect. As part of the transportation development, many canals have been dug connecting rivers or inland waterways with seas, thus making a continuous water route through the country. The Stalin Canal between the White and Baltic Seas has shortened the distance between those bodies of water by 2,160 miles. Another large canal under construction is the Volga-Don Canal, which will connect those rivers and open the Volga to the Black Sea.

Agriculture, too, was part of this gigantic economic scheme of the Five-Year Plans. All but a fraction of the peasants, after much opposition from wealthier peasants, known as "kulaks," were organized as groups on the collective farms (kolkhozes) and on the state farms. Provision was made for individual ownership of houses and other articles for personal use, so long as these were not used for profit. And "the law permits the small private economy of individual peasants and handicraftsmen based on their personal labor and precluding the exploitation of the labor of others." (Article 9 of the Constitution.) As a result of the efficiency and modernization of agriculture, 71% of the work of tilling the land was mechanized in 1937 as compared to 1% in 1928.

Science was applied, not only in speeding up industrial and agricultural efficiency, but in draining the marshes, such as the Pripet marshes in Eastern Poland; sending explorers to

ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE OF THE U.S.S.R.

SHARE OF IMPORTS AND HOME PRODUCTION IN THE TOTAL CONSUMPTION



Scientific Institute of Pictorial Statistics, Moscow

the Arctic, and opening up a northern sea route with the aid of ice-breakers; using airplanes to spray certain regions, thus ridding them of malaria-carrying mosquitoes, or locusts which damaged the crops; discovering herds of seals and guiding ships to them by plane and in countless other ways.

Success in the tremendous economic development of the U.S.S.R. is a result, not only of the planned economy, but also of the attitude of the Soviet citizens, including the new motives that they have adopted. The people have discovered that when they work for others, they work also for themselves, and the motto, "Each for all and all for each" has real meaning for them. Their personal ambitions, even of criminals in jail, are channeled into useful work for the community. With their standard of living raised, these motives of group welfare and social prestige impel the citizens to work with zeal, without the motive of profit. Wendell Willkie, Eric Johnston, and other Americans who have visited the Soviet Union recently, have commented on this spirit among the people.

In the cities, the factory is the cultural and recreational center, as the collective or state farm is in the rural areas. A differential wage scale is used, depending on the amount of work produced in the factory; also the share of each collective farmer varies with his output. The trade unions play an important role in industry, administering social security benefits in each factory, and representing the workers' interests. Women have entered industry in greater numbers, and hold important positions on the collective farms, particularly during the war, with most of the men in the armed forces. As a result of the planned economy, the standard of living has been raised throughout the country, though it is still low as compared to that of the more advanced industrial countries.

The industrial efficiency of the U.S.S.R. was demonstrated during the German invasion in 1941 when production was increased, the army supplied with necessities; the transportation system, which was supposed to be weak, functioned well, proving a great contrast to the inefficient transportation system in Russia in World War I during the Tsarist regime. In addition to these

proofs of efficiency, whole industrial plants, with their machinery and workers, were transported from the invaded areas to places of safety farther east. Today, far-reaching plans for reconstruction are being made, and as soon as areas are reconquered, these plans are being put into effect.

References on Economic Life:

Constitution of 1936.
Williams, *The Soviets,* pp. 134-158; 172-188.
Mikhailov, *Land of the Soviets,* p. 26 to end of book.
Davies and Steiger, *Soviet Asia,* whole book.

Some Suggested Activities on Economic Life:

1. Make a map of the Soviet Union, naming and indicating the regions where industry was carried on before 1917, and those which are industrialized today. Show with appropriate symbols the mineral and agricultural resources, as well as the forested sections of the Soviet Union. Write in the name of one important city in each industrial region.
2. Misha, a Soviet peasant, owns his dwelling-house, a pig, and some sheep, but the State Farm on which he works, and the machinery on the Farm are owned by the Soviet Government. How would you answer someone who says that private ownership has been abolished in Russia? Write a paper citing articles from the Constitution of 1936 to show the truth or fallacy in this statement.
3. The chief product necessary for industry, lacking both in the U.S.A. and in the U.S.S.R., is rubber. Find out what each country has done about this shortage and report to the class. (References for U.S.S.R.: Mikhailov, *Land of the Soviets,* and Steiger and Davies, *Soviet Asia.*)
4. Read about the Stakhanov Movement in Williams, *The Soviets,* p. 220, or in the pamphlet by Alexie Stakhanov entitled *The Stakhanov Movement Explained.* Write a short paper about this, and show how it explains the industrial development in the U.S.S.R.
5. Look up the figures on industrial production in 1914 and 1933 in Soviet Russia, on pages 34-35 in Mikhailov, *Land of the Soviets,* and make two circle graphs showing how the Soviet Union has increased her proportion in relation to other countries.
6. Cite from Chapter I of the Constitution the article explaining the attitude of the State toward people who work. Be ready to discuss this article in class, explaining how it is carried out. Consider whether the attitude toward useful work has changed since 1917, and give examples from the events of 1917-1920 to support your discussion.
7. Imagine yourself a worker in a factory in the U.S.S.R. You have a cousin who came to the U.S.A. twenty years ago, and he is employed

in a local factory. Write a letter to your cousin comparing the two systems of management and the workers' relation to them.

8. Arrange for a showing of the films entitled "'Harvest Festival" and "Impressions of Moscow." (See Brandon Film catalogue.) After the films have been shown, have a class discussion about the modern farmer and the industrial worker in the Soviet Union.

9.

1900	1939	NAME OF TOWN
5,000	405,590	Novosibirsk
6,000	500,000	Sverdlovsk
0	70,000	Komsomolsk

Draw figures of men proportionate to the size of these populations in 1900 and 1939. Prepare a statement for the class explaining why each of these particular cities grew with such rapidity. (See *Survey Graphic,* February, 1944.)

10. Was the Stalin Canal as long, as costly, or as difficult to build as the Erie, the Panama, or the Suez Canals? Find the important facts concerning these canals, and draw a bar graph showing the mileage of each and cost of building.

11. Read in the *Survey Graphic* for February, 1944, the article on the Soviet Far East. Make a report to the class on this.

12. How would your father's business, or the business in which your father is employed, be conducted in the Soviet Union? Make a chart comparing such a business in the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. as regards: profits, management, inventions, employer, trade unions.

13. "The pioneer movement in the U.S.A. westward is similar to the eastward expansion of the U.S.S.R. In fact, Siberia is sometimes called 'Russia's middle west.'"
Write a paper giving examples from American and Russian history to illustrate this statement. Name regions developed in each migration. For reference, read Pares, *Russia and the Peace,* Chapter 20, and Hindus, *Russia and Japan,* Chapters 8, 9, and 10.

14. Walter Duranty in an article in the magazine section of the *New York Times* for July 30, 1944, stated:
"Three years of war have clearly and tremendously hastened and emphasized Russia's progression toward nationalism and patriotic unity, and its apparent retrogression from the original principles of communism or Marxist socialism." In another part of the same article, Mr. Duranty says: "'Russia has definitely, if not wholly successfully, adopted a socialist or collective system."
Read the whole article from which these quotations are taken, and write an explanation of the apparent contradictions in these two statements.

D. Provision for Social Welfare

Article 120 of the Constitution of 1936 provides for free medical services for the working people. Practically all nurses and doctors are civil servants. Special provisions of the labor code protect women workers, and special grants are made for the care of mother and child. Social insurance is provided for in Article 120. It includes compensation because of illness or injury, and provision for old-age pensions. Funds are set aside by the enterprise where the worker is employed, and are not built up by deductions from wages or salaries. These funds are administered by the trade unions. Group and individual insurance to cover other hazards may be bought. Rest homes are provided where workers may rest under medical supervision, although the number of these is not yet adequate to serve all workers. Special aid is being provided for the rehabilitation of war veterans, and for the care of veterans' families.

The Soviets claim that neuroses and mental disorders have decreased sharply because of the provision of economic security. They cite figures to show that their proportion of mental disorders is lower than that of the western countries. This is due, they say, to the removal of worry over loss of employment, over a poverty-stricken old age, and over the inability to provide medical and hospital care in case of illness. The number of mental disorders in the army has been lower than in World War I. This is attributed to the better conditioning of the nervous systems of the people and the strengthening of morale by an understanding of the issues of the war. The death rate in the Soviet Union has been reduced by forty per cent in comparison with Tsarist Russia.

The remarkable success of the health program has been demonstrated by the war. In spite of the terrific problems involved in the care of the wounded, the evacuation of large numbers of people eastward, longer working hours for everyone, and an inadequate food supply, not one disease has reached epidemic proportions. In 1941, at the height of the German attack, the infant mortality rate in Moscow was less than ten per cent,

whereas in 1914 in that city the rate was twenty-three per cent. Although this is a remarkable advance, the figure is still about double the infant mortality rate in the United States. Soviet medical research has contributed many new practices, only one of which is the blood bank now being generally used.

References on Social Welfare:

Kingsbury, John, "Soviet Health Lines Ahead," *Survey Graphic,* February, 1944.

Maurer, Rose, "Soviet Health Care in Peace and War," American Russian Institute pamphlet.

Sigerist, Henry E., *Socialized Medicine in the Soviet Union.*

Webb, Beatrice and Webb, Sidney, *Soviet Communism: A New Civilization?* Part II, pp. 805-862.

Some Suggested Activities on Social Welfare:

1. An American visitor to the Soviet Union developed a cough and she decided to buy some cod liver oil at a drug store. She was told that she must have a doctor's prescription, and when she had secured it, the cod liver oil was given to her free of charge.
   Several of you may like to study the subject of health protection in the Soviet Union, and present a discussion to the class. For this presentation, be sure that group members present both the favorable and unfavorable aspects of the program.
2. Arrange for a showing of the Russian film, "The Road to Life." This film depicts the problem of homeless children in the Soviet Union in the period after the civil war. You will need to preview the film and also find some material on this topic in reference books. Tell the class something in advance about the problem of the "wild boys." After the film has been shown, conduct a class discussion on it. Do you know what the Soviets are doing now to try to prevent a recurrence of the problem of homeless children?
3. Read *We Didn't Ask Utopia* by Harry and Rebecca Timbres to get an idea of one man's experience in the medical profession in Russia. Write a brief discussion of the things in this book which interested you most. Would you recommend it to other members of the class? Why, or why not?

E. Cultural Life

1. *Education*

The Soviet Government has placed particular emphasis upon public education and the development of schools. It has been anxious to introduce universal, free, compulsory education

throughout the Soviet Union as rapidly as possible. Elementary education is compulsory for everyone, and among all peoples. Until the war interfered, plans were well under way for making education compulsory for everyone up to the age of eighteen.

Soviet education aims primarily to give all the people of the U.S.S.R. a many-sided individual development, an understanding of socialism, and preparation for taking their places in a collective society. Education is for the whole population, and every institution is utilized to that end. Educational opportunities of many kinds are provided by the factory and by the farm. Illiteracy has been reduced from seventy per cent in Tsarist Russia to nineteen per cent in the Soviet Union. It is especially important to note the growth of literacy among the peoples in the northern and eastern regions, and among women. One of the most important measures for the establishment of equal rights for women has been the opening of all types of education to them.

Expansion of schools has been so rapid that at times there has been difficulty in providing adequately trained teachers. There has been a great increase in the number of secondary schools in country districts and in the new industrial settlements. Until the end of 1939 tuition was free in all primary and secondary schools and in most of the institutes for higher education, but this provision was modified as war approached. Character development and the development of a well-rounded personality are emphasized as well as mastery of subject matter. Pupils are given physical training, aesthetic training, and moral training. The latter includes a cultivation of the love of country.

Emphasis has been placed upon adult education, rural education, the education of minor nationalities, and upon vocational information in its broader sense. There has been a great increase in the number of institutions of higher learning, and an even greater increase in vocational and apprenticeship schools. There is constant interaction between formal education and community work, with stress upon the education of the average citizen in science and in machine techniques. This training of the whole population in machine techniques and modern technical devel-

opments has been of invaluable service in the present war. The ability of Soviet men and women to operate tanks, airplanes, and other complicated equipment characteristic of industrialized nations has surprised the world. This ability is all the more remarkable when one recalls their relatively short acquaintance with modern machines, the rapidity of industrialization, and the oft-repeated stories about the ineptness of the Soviets in handling machines in the early years of industrialization.

References on Education:

Erskine, Dorothy, and Roberts, Holland, "What 36 Million Children are Learning," *Survey Graphic,* February, 1944.

King, Beatrice, *Changing Man: The Education System of the U.S.S.R.*

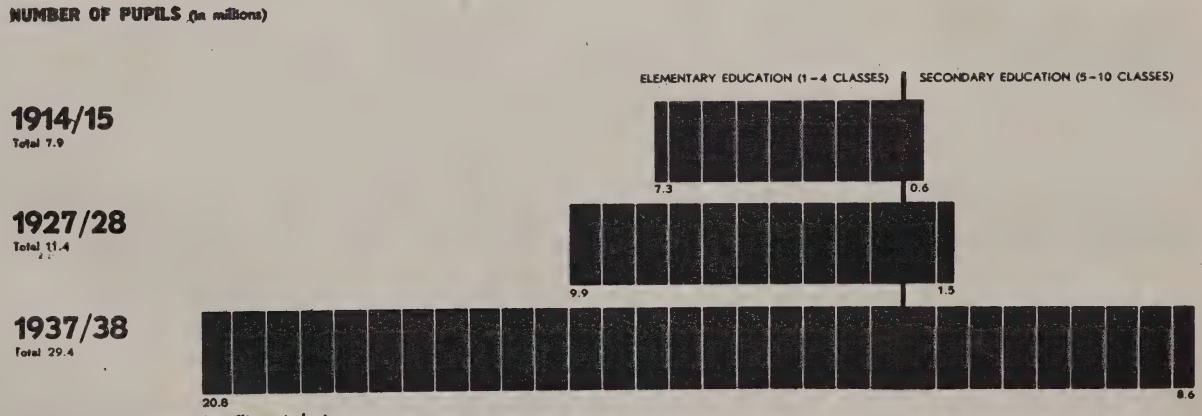
Medynsky, Eugene, "Schools and Education in the U.S.S.R." *American Sociological Review,* June, 1944.

2. *Religion and Philosophy*

The Soviet attitude toward religion is rooted deep in Communist philosophy, which is anti-religious and materialistic. It teaches the evolutionary character of human and natural life, and that nature alone is real. All belief in God, in the supernatural, or in any type of mysticism is ruled out. The stress on science is part of this opposition to the supernatural, and often rulings that are thought by other countries to be primarily anti-religious are intended to abolish peasant superstitions by education in science. Christianity is anti-social in the eyes of the Communists because they claim that it teaches acquiescence and lessens man's urge to improve conditions in this life. Lenin is said to have declared that a real Communist could not be a Christian. Membership in the Communist Party is not open to those who have religious affiliations. In spite of the development of better relations between the government and the church groups, the fundamental orientation of Communist philosophy is away from religious belief.

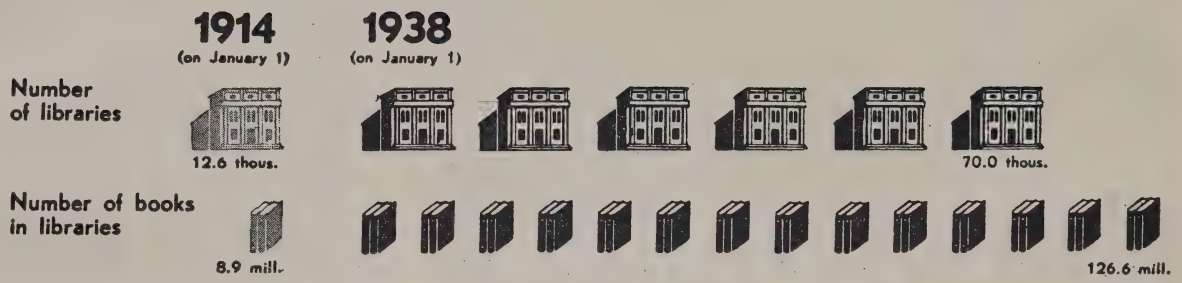
On January 23, 1918, the Soviet Government issued a decree which separated the Church and the State. All church property was nationalized, and the church lost all control over education. Many restrictions were placed upon the activities of the clergy. Priests were disfranchised, and were not allowed to give religious

GENERAL EDUCATION SCHOOLS FOR CHILDREN AND YOUTH



Scientific Institute of Pictorial Statistics, Moscow

LIBRARIES FOR GENERAL USE



Data for 1914 taken as a unit.

Scientific Institute of Pictorial Statistics, Moscow

instruction to groups of young people under eighteen years of age. A series of persecutions followed in which many bishops and priests were exiled or executed. In 1925 the League of Militant Atheists was founded, and it started a propaganda campaign against the church. In 1929 an amendment to the Constitution proclaimed "freedom of religious worship and freedom of anti-religious propaganda," thus preventing freedom of religious propaganda. This phrasing has been retained in the Constitution of 1936, although priests, along with all other citizens, secured the right to vote in this constitution. There is, in spite of these activities, ample evidence of the survival of religion in the Soviet Union, and since 1939 the Soviets have been increasingly liberal in their attitude toward the Orthodox Church. This friendly attitude brought about the reestablishment of the Patriarchate of Moscow in September, 1943. The Soviet Cabinet now has a Committee on Religion. The Orthodox Church is supporting the government in its war activities.

References on Religion and Philosophy:

Anderson, Paul, *People, Church and State in Modern Russia.*

Iswolsky, Helen, "Spiritual Resurgence in Russia," *Survey Graphic,* February, 1944.

Melish, William Howard, "Religious Developments in the Soviet Union," *American Sociological Review,* June, 1944.

Timasheff, N. S., *Religion in Soviet Russia.*

3. *Science*

The Communist Party and the Soviet Government have put their faith in science as the instrument by which man can achieve greater control over the forces of nature. Science is financed by the government, and dominates the whole educational system.

The All-Union Academy of Sciences directs all the scientific work of the country. Science is not confined to the laboratories; the interest of the masses of people has been enlisted in research and invention. In the factories and on the collective farms many thousands of workers study in science clubs. The achievements of Soviet science have been impressive. While critics say that science has had to operate within the confines

of socialism, Communists hold that science is stimulated by making the discoveries accessible to all, with no fear of rival interests securing the advantage.

References on Science:

Davies and Steiger, *Soviet Asia.*
Mikhailov, Nicholas, *Land of the Soviets.*
Williams, *The Soviets,* pp. 201-211.

4. *The Arts*

The Soviet government considers art to be an important part of everyday life, and subsidizes the arts in many ways. Great recognition is given to creative artists, and cultural workers are among the highest paid of all workers. The Soviets make wide use of art galleries and museums, not just as repositories for valuable collections but as a means of arousing the consciousness of the people to their rich cultural heritage. Theatres have been as much a part of the Five-Year plans as have been dams and steel mills; drama and opera are performed in sixty different languages; and over a hundred children's theatres have been opened. The arts are not limited to professionals. Five thousand non-professional theatres are run by clubs and collective farms for amateur performers. The best amateur musicians and dancers come to Moscow from all over the Soviet Union to compete in the Moscow Olympiads of Music.

In architecture the revolt against the past has produced a style that features rather severe, straight lines. No great distinction has been won by Russians in sculpture or painting, except for the early icons. The work of pictorial and graphic artists has attracted considerable attention. While the Soviets hold the literary man in high regard, little has been produced by Soviet writers which is comparable to the work of the great masters of the past. Until 1932 the work of writers was hampered by the rulings of the Russian Association of Proletarian Writers. Hostile critics say that Soviet artists are serving propaganda purposes. The Communists admit the truth of the statement, but hold that artists always do reflect the point of view of the ruling class from which they earn most of their living.

References on the Arts:

Vernadsky, *A History of Russia,* Chapter 19.
Williams, *The Soviets,* Sections 71-76.

5. *Publications and the Radio*

Since the masses have acquired the ability to read, their appetite for learning is tremendous. The supplying of enough books and papers to satisfy the demand has become a problem. At the end of the First Five-Year Plan, book production exceeded that of England, France, and Germany combined. One publishing house alone in Moscow publishes books in eighty-five languages. This interest in reading has brought about a great cultural awakening. While more titles are published each year than in any other country, and editions are quickly exhausted, the paper is inferior in quality, and the books are for the most part paper bound.

Newspapers and weekly and monthly periodicals are even more widely read in the Soviet Union than in the United States. This is in spite of the fact that Soviet newspapers omit many of the features which we consider essential in order to secure a wide circulation. Soviet papers are wholly occupied with public affairs. The function of the press is to carry on educational and propaganda campaigns in order to organize the support of readers behind government policies. Most important papers are Communist Party organs, and an agent of the censorship sits in every printing establishment. No publication which attacks the ideals or general policies of the Party is allowed. This does not mean that no criticism is possible. Newspapers furnish the chief means of "self-criticism." Correspondence from the people is invited and thousands of letters are sent in criticizing officials for the inefficiency of management. Informal wall-newspapers are published in institutions as a means of securing criticisms from the workers.

Radio broadcasts are made in sixty languages. Programs are centrally planned, and are "official" in the same sense as applies to the press. Many facilities for group listening are provided on collective farms, in factories, apartments, schools, and in other public places.

References on Publications and the Radio:

Harper, *The Government of the Soviet Union,* pp. 73-76.
Webb, Sidney and Beatrice, *Soviet Communism: A New Civilisation?* p. 1026.
Williams, Albert Rhys, *The Soviets,* Section 73.

6. *Recreation and Sports*

The recreation and sports program is intended to supplement other features of the public health program. Its purpose is to produce a more healthy, vigorous race. Factories, clubs, and collective farms provide places wherein workers may study, relax, and enjoy themselves. Music, games, and folk dancing are available for public participation. While in Tsarist Russia the masses of the people had no form of physical culture, now the whole population takes part in sports and exercises more and more. As long as a person is physically capable he or she is apt to take part in some form of athletics, usually until well past middle age. Cities provide Parks of Culture and Rest for recreation and entertainment. Here are libraries, lectures, concerts, and exhibitions. Anyone who wishes may exercise in the parks, or may join a sports club. In these ways the Soviet Union tries to develop a strong, healthy population. Some observers think the training provided by the sports program is one thing that has enabled the Red Army to do such a good job in the war.

References on Recreation and Sports:

Life magazine, March, 1944, "Russians Like Athletics."
Sigerist, Henry E., *Socialized Medicine in the Soviet Union,* pp. 167-189.
Williams, Albert Rhys, *The Soviets,* pp. 313-316.

Some Suggested Activities on Cultural Life:

1. Read the article "100,000,000 Have Learned to Read and Write" in *Life* magazine for January 11, 1943. Write a brief summary of the ways in which this has been achieved. You will find additional material in the *Survey Graphic* for February, 1944.
2. You probably recall that Peter the Great tried to "westernize" Russia. If you do not recall it, review his work by referring to some history text. Why have the Soviets been able to accomplish much more in the way of cultural transformation than Peter the Great was able to do in his life time? Put your reasons down on paper so that you will have them for ready reference. A class discussion will be held on this topic.

3. A visitor to the Soviet Union heard a woman say, "I liquidated my illiteracy in 1934." What did she mean? Construct two bar graphs, showing on one the percentage of illiteracy in 1914, and on the other the percentage of illiteracy in 1939. (See *Life* magazine, March, 1943.) The abolition of illiteracy is one of the aims of the Soviet Government. What methods are being used to bring this about?
4. You are a Soviet citizen, twenty years of age. Write a careful account of the educational training you have had to date, and tell what plans you have for continuing your education. You will find material in Beatrice King's book, *Changing Man: The Education System of the U.S.S.R.*
5. Lunacharsky, Commissar of Education in the Soviet Union, after leading the attack on the church, made the following remark: "Religion is like a nail, the harder you hit it the deeper it goes into the wood." Review the persecution of the early Christians by the Romans, and study the effects of the persecution of religion by the Soviets. This topic is discussed in the books by Pares, Timasheff, Anderson, and in Margaret Bourke-White's *Shooting the Russian War.* Write a brief summary of your conclusions about the effects of religious persecutions in each of these two instances.
6. You may be interested in the official correspondence between President Roosevelt and Maxim Litvinoff at the time of our recognition of the U.S.S.R. You will find this exchange of letters on pages 31-33 of the *American Quarterly on the Soviet Union* for November, 1940. Prepare a list of the rights respecting religious freedoms which the U.S.S.R. agreed to guarantee.
7. In *Life* magazine for January 11, 1943 you will find an article by Walter Graebner, who had just returned from a four months' stay in Moscow. The article is entitled "Moscow Today." Study the pictures and read the article. Select a few of the dramatic highlights of the article to tell to the class.
8. Paul B. Anderson, in his book, *People, Church and State in Modern Russia,* says, "It has become abundantly clear that the Church and the believers generally are wholeheartedly behind the Red Army and its Commander-in-Chief, Stalin. . . ."
   Make a list of the items of evidence you are able to find in support of this statement. Refer to the books by Anderson, Timasheff, Pares, or others.
9. In *Survey Graphic,* February, 1944, is an article entitled, "Cannon Have Not Silenced the Muses." Read this article and make a report to the class on how the arts are being used in time of war.
10. If you are interested in photography, you will no doubt be interested in Margaret Bourke-White's book, *Shooting the Russian War.* After some other students have read it, hold a group discussion with those

who are interested. Let the group decide whether or not to make a brief report to the class on it.

11. Read the pamphlet entitled *Drama in Wartime Russia* by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow Dana. Give a brief report to the class on the way the Soviets are using drama to help win the war.
12. In the magazine, *Art News,* for May 15, 1942, is an article describing an exhibition of Russian icons at the Baltimore Museum of Art. Study the pictures of icons, and read the article. Would you care to study this topic further and write a brief report on it? Perhaps you can include a sketch of an icon that you liked especially.
13. Arrange to play a recording of a piece of modern Russian music which you like. Find out what you can about the composer and tell the class before you play the record.
14. Soviet scientists have "caused rain to fall in Ashkhabad, the dryest spot in the country by sprinkling passing clouds with chemicals from airplanes." Many other interesting developments of Soviet science are described in Chapter 45 of Albert Rhys Williams' book, *The Soviets.* Read this chapter and any other interesting material you find on this subject, and answer the following questions in writing:
    a. How do the Soviets attempt to enlist all citizens in "storming the fortress of science"?
    b. List some of the unusual achievements of Soviet science in the following fields: synthetic products, weather control, development of new plant life.
15. The Soviets believe that science is their ally in building a new life for themselves. Science was assigned definite duties in the Five-Year Plans. List the ten key problems assigned to the Academy of Science in the Third Five-Year Plan. Prepare to explain to the class one of these problems which interests you. (See Albert Rhys Williams, *The Soviets.*)
16. Read H. P. Smolka's book, *40,000 Against the Arctic,* or Ivan Papanin's *Adrift on an Ice Floe,* to get a picture of the Soviet Arctic. After several of you have read one or the other of these books, get together for a discussion.
17. "We must not wait for the favors of nature," Michurin, Soviet scientist, said in 1922. "We must wrest them from her." To what extent has the Soviet Union struggled against nature in: (a) the Arctic; (b) desert areas; (c) adapting vegetation to the climate; (d) adapting the climate to vegetation. Prepare an oral or written report on one of these. See the chapter on science in Albert Rhys Williams, *The Soviets.*
18. "An empty futile amusement," said Nicholas II, the last of the Tsars, in speaking of the cinema (motion pictures). "Only an abnormal person would put this vulgar circus on a par with art."
    Lenin said, "For us the cinema is the most important of the arts."

Consult the available references and see what you can find about the cinema in the Soviet Union, and the Soviet "Hollywood."
Write a few generalizations on how films have been used in the Soviet Union.

19. Have you ever seen a Soviet-made film? If so, what was it? Write a paragraph or two giving your reaction to it.
20. In the violent phase of the Bolshevik Revolution, Lunacharsky, a great Bolshevik art critic, was so upset by rumors of the demolition of the famous Basil Cathedral that he became ill. Lenin went to see him and appointed him to head a special commission to protect and preserve the cultural inheritance of the past. You will find in Williams, *The Soviets,* a section entitled, "What Happened to the Art Treasures in the Revolution?" Find any other material on this topic you can, and write an interesting paper on it. Members of the class will be invited to read your paper if they wish to do so.
21. "Art," said Lenin, "belongs to the people." Find out how the Soviets have made the arts a part of everyday life. Form a group to discuss some of the things the Soviets have done to accomplish this. Do you think we should try to make the arts a more common experience for Americans?
22. Beatrice and Sidney Webb say, in speaking of censorship in the Soviet Union, "In the first place, nothing is permitted that is deemed 'counter-revolutionary.' This does not mean that no criticism is allowed. On the contrary, there is, as the student will have concluded, no country in the world in which there is actually so much widespread criticism of the government, and such incessant revelation of its shortcomings, as in the U.S.S.R."
Read the article on "Self Criticism" in *Soviet Communism: A New Civilization?* by the Webbs. What are the limits within which criticism must remain? Does this article help explain how so much unfavorable comment on the Soviet Union originated? Write a few general statements on this topic, giving your conclusions.
23. "Russian music in the second half of the nineteenth century entered into a period of great creative activity."—Vernadsky. One group of musicians formed an organization for the purpose of developing Russian music. This organization contained many persons whose names are known all over the world. Find out who these men were (Vernadsky, 210-211) and see if you are familiar with their compositions. A group of you may be able to collect a record of a piece by each, and play it for the class.
24. Tchaikovsky, 1840-1893, wrote many great masterpieces. Ask your music teacher to discuss his work with you, and play several of his compositions.
25. Rachmaninov, one of the famous modern Russian composers, died in

1942. Koussevitsky is the Director of the Boston Symphony Orchestra. Who are some other famous Russians in the field of music?

26. Shostakovich is the best known in the United States of any of the contemporary Soviet composers. You may recall that his "Seventh Symphony" was written during the siege of Leningrad. Read an account of his life, and arrange to hear one or more of his symphonies.
27. Many people think that Leo Tolstoy's *War and Peace* is one of the greatest books of all time. This book tells the story of Napoleon's defeat by Tsar Alexander I. The modern Russian book which has been compared to that great epic is Mikhail Sholokov's *The Silent Don,* of which there are two volumes, *And Quiet Flows the Don,* and *The Don Flows Home to the Sea.* Read either of these books and discuss them orally either with your teacher or with another student who has read them.
28. Maxim Gorky is a much-loved Russian author who died in 1936. One of his most famous books is entitled *Mother.* Read this book and report to the class whether or not you think they would like to read it, and why. You may enjoy discussing it with your English teacher also.
29. The "middle school" in the U.S.S.R. offers a ten-year course of study for pupils from the ages of eight to seventeen. Since 1943 these schools have not been coeducational for students in large cities. Can you find out why this change was made? Chapter XII in Beatrice King's *Changing Man: The Education System of the U.S.S.R.* describes the ten-year school. You may want to read it so that you can compare and contrast life in the Soviet schools with that of your own school.
30. The Soviets have become tremendously interested in athletics. You may be interested in making a special study of this topic. A detailed report on Soviet athletics by Eric A. Starbuck is soon to be published as a pamphlet by the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship.

F. The Position of Women

The vocational opportunities and special protection afforded women in the Soviet Union are best stated in the words of Article 122 of the Constitution of 1936: "Women in the U.S.S.R. are accorded equal rights with men in all spheres of economic, state, cultural, social, and political life. The possibility of exercising these rights is ensured to women by granting them an equal right with men to work, payment for work, rest and leisure, social insurance and education, and by state protection of mother and child, pre-maternity and maternity leave with

full pay, and the provision of a wide network of maternity homes, nurseries, and kindergartens." In 1940 there were eleven million women wage-earners in the Soviet Union, representing thirty-seven per cent of the total number of wage-earners. Nineteen million more were working on collective farms. More and more women are becoming technicians and are entering the professions. With the coming of the present war the number of women in industry increased from eleven million to fifteen million. Soviet women are not only at work on farms, in mines, and in factories in increasing numbers; they are also serving as nurses, as guerilla fighters, pilots, ambulance drivers, and in many other types of work. While the Soviet Union does not encourage women to join the fighting fronts, they may do so if they wish, and many of them have performed great feats of daring.

References on the Position of Women:

Halle, Fannina, *Woman in Soviet Russia,* The Viking Press, N. Y., 1933.
Maurer, Rose, "Those Russian Women," *Survey Graphic,* February, 1944.
Williams, *The Russians,* Chapter 16.

Some Suggested Activities on the Position of Women:

1. You will be interested in the contrast between the attitude toward women in the Soviet Union and in Nazi Germany. Form a committee to study this question, and arrange to report your findings to the class in a panel discussion. See the pamphlet, *Soviet Russia versus Nazi Germany* by Corliss Lamont.
2. Prepare a paper on the subject, "The Status of Women in the Soviet Union." Refer to the book by Fannina W. Halle, *Women in Soviet Russia.*
3. Collect a set of clippings from newspapers and magazines on how the women of the U.S.S.R. have contributed to victory in the war. Mount these clippings and place them in a folder so that they may be of use to others who are studying this topic. Remember that the source and date of each clipping should be given.
4. The pamphlet, *Soviet Women in the War Against Hitlerism,* contains highly dramatic descriptions of the exploits of individual Soviet heroines. Read several of these, and select one to tell to the class. A group may plan this together, and present one or more brief, interesting accounts to the class.

5. Using the pamphlet mentioned above, write the script for a radio interview with one of the famous Soviet heroines.
6. Prepare an exhibit of pictures showing how Soviet women have helped to promote victory in the war. You may wish to include sketches of your own. (Pictures may be obtained for a modest rental fee from the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, 232 Madison Avenue, New York City.)

G. Family Life

In the early years of the post-revolutionary period family relationships were unstable. The tendency toward the disintegration of the family was accentuated by the new economic independence of women, the socialization of many of the functions of the home, and the decline of religion. The war, the Revolution, and the famine were disruptive forces, and many of the old standards were discarded. The economic independence of women required new ways of caring for children, and new methods of feeding people. Nursery schools were set up to care for infants up to two or three years of age, thus releasing the mother for work. Public kitchens and dining halls were organized. At present the main meal of the day is usually eaten at the place of work. However, many women still do double duty in carrying on household duties as well as a job. This is especially true of women over twenty-five years of age.

The Soviets have come to regard the home and family as the central agency for child care, with public institutions supplementing this work. Members of the family all have the same free day, and all go to the club for amusement together. A tightening up of the marriage and divorce laws has tended to strengthen the family as a social institution. When divorce occurs, any children of the marriage must be protected from hardship. In spite of the loss of some of its social functions, the family is held together by love for the children and by the common bond of work, as well as by the mutual affection of husband and wife. During the war every effort has been made to protect the family. When large numbers of people and factories were moved eastward, whole families were moved as a unit when possible.

References on Family Life:

Kingsbury and Fairchild, *Factory Family and Woman in the Soviet Union,* G. P. Putnam's Sons, N. Y., 1935, pp. 238-250.

Maurer, Rose, "Recent Trends in the Soviet Family," *American Sociological Review,* June, 1944.

Maurer, Rose, *Soviet Children and Their Care,* pamphlet.

Sigerist, Henry E., *Socialized Medicine in the Soviet Union.*

Some Suggested Activities on Family Life:

1. "The air is good in the country because the peasants use so little of it" goes an old Russian saying. Housing in the Soviet Union has been pitifully inadequate, but even so the majority of the people are better housed than they were in the past.
   Read Section 49 in Albert Rhys Williams, *The Soviets,* and you will find some amusing anecdotes on the subject of housing. After you have read this, draw a series of cartoons illustrating some of the ideas which interested you.
2. The Russian people take a particular delight in festivals and holidays. Make a calendar of important holidays in the Soviet Union, identifying each. Make a similar calendar for our own national holidays.
3. The "Young Pioneers" is an organization of Soviet children from ten to sixteen years of age. Read the section in Williams, *The Soviets,* on the Young Pioneers. You will also find information on this organization in Beatrice King's *Changing Man: The Education System of the U.S.S.R.* What similarities and differences do you note between this organization and our own Scout organization? Form a group of students who are interested in discussing this topic.
4. Lenin said, "The actual building of the new society will begin only when women are freed from petty, dreary, futile drudgery. Housework in itself is utterly inconsequential and stultifying."
   As a preparation for a class discussion on home life and the position of women in the Soviet Union, answer the following questions:
   a. How have the Soviets tried to free women from household duties?
   b. What effect does such a provision have upon home life?
   c. How has the independence of women affected the U.S.S.R. during the present war?
5. Arrange an attractive bulletin board exhibit of the pictures in the set, "Life of a Family in Russia." (Obtainable from The East and West Association, 40 East 49th Street, New York City, for fifty cents.)
6. The film, "One Day in Soviet Russia," was written and narrated by Quentin Reynolds. It gives a very complete account of many phases of life in the Soviet Union. If this film is available, a small group may preview it and mention to the class points of importance to be noted. After the showing of the film, be prepared to discuss it with the class and try to answer the questions it has provoked.

V. Foreign Relations

A. Pre-Revolutionary Policy

Russia had little influence upon general European history before the end of the seventeenth century. Her isolation was due, among other factors, to two centuries of Tatar rule, and to her geographic position. Peter the Great ascended the throne in 1689, after the Tatars had been driven eastward into Siberia and southward into the Black Sea region by his predecessors. It was his ambition to make Russia into a great European power. He annexed Azov, a seaport on an arm of the Black Sea, and succeeded in expanding Russian territory toward the northwest, securing strategic ports in the Baltic Sea. He acquired Latvia and Estonia in 1721; he also sent Vitus Bering to explore the region now known as the Bering Sea and Bering Strait. Peter the Great did not, however, succeed in securing a seaport in warm water which would be a secure outlet to the main ocean routes.

Catherine II annexed the Crimea, and shared in the partitioning of Poland, along with the rulers of Austria and Prussia. In the nineteenth century, imperialistic Russia gained territories in the Middle and Far East, and in the Caucasus region. During the Napoleonic wars she secured Finland, and gained a larger portion of Poland at the Congress of Vienna. Russian influence over the Slavic peoples of the Balkans became extensive.

These activities naturally aroused antagonism among the other powers. Great Britain feared Russian expansion toward India, Japan opposed her expansion down the Pacific coast, and Austria-Hungary feared the growth of Russian influence in the Balkan states. Moreover, Russia's desire for an outlet to the sea brought her into armed conflict with the Ottoman Empire, which continued to hold Constantinople.

In the system of alliances which preceded the First World War, Russia and France were bound in a military alliance, while Russia and England settled their differences in the Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1907, thus completing the Triple Entente. Russia's entrance into the war came, not only because of this

alliance, but because of obligations she had assumed toward Serbia.

The coming of war in 1914 intensified the domestic problems of Russia; losses in the war were very great. These tremendous casualties, successive military defeats, growing shortages of food and other goods, and widespread dissatisfaction led to the abdication of the Tsar in March, 1917. The Provisional Government then established was overthrown by Lenin and his followers in November, 1917, thus leaving the Bolsheviks in control of the government. They advocated peace with Germany, and in March, 1918, withdrew from the war under the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. As a result of this treaty and of later developments, Russia lost all of its western provinces, Poland, Finland, the Ukraine, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and Bessarabia. However, acceptance of the terms of the peace gave the Bolsheviks the opportunity to strengthen their own position. The revolutionary government, in order to seize and hold power, resorted to harsh and ruthless means, which led to resentment and further civil strife within the country. Revolution and counter-revolution, foreign intervention and economic stress combined to produce a period of great turbulence and struggle.

B. Policy from 1918 to 1941

The Soviets were excluded from the Versailles Conference, but Allied intervention and blockade continued until 1920. From 1922 to 1933, a primary concern of the Soviets was the stabilization of their system of government, and they were successful in establishing diplomatic and commercial relations with the major powers. The United States was the last of these powers to recognize the Soviet government, in 1933. Treaties were negotiated with all neighboring countries, including Germany. The Soviets participated in the disarmament conferences, and in August, 1928, they became a signatory of the Kellogg-Briand Treaty to outlaw war as an instrument of national policy. In the Far East they abrogated extra-territorial privileges and established friendly relations with Japan and China; but, in 1929, due to difficulties with Manchurian troops, relations with China

were broken. After the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931, friendly relations with the Chinese Republic were resumed.

The Soviet Union attempted to coöperate in building up a system of collective security when it joined the League of Nations in 1934. It favored sanctions when Italy invaded Ethiopia, and also aid to China in its difficulties with Japan. The Soviets consistently advocated the value of collective security, but at Munich, when collective security was threatened, they were not consulted. The Soviet Union was ready and willing to participate in invoking sanctions, and sent substantial aid to the Loyalists in Spain and to the Chinese after the Japanese attacks on Manchuria and China proper.

During the uncertainty of 1939, negotiations with Great Britain and France were unsuccessful, and in August of that year, the U.S.S.R. entered into a non-aggression pact with Germany. The conclusion of this pact resulted in greater suspicion of the Soviet Union by the western democracies. Even though the agreement was apparently one of friendship, the Soviets were aware of ultimate danger from the Nazis. "From this pact," Stalin said in 1941, following Germany's attack on the U.S.S.R., "we secured for our country peace for a year and a half and the opportunity of preparing its forces to repulse Fascist Germany should she risk an attack on our country despite the pact."[1]

When Polish resistance to the German attack was weakening in 1939, the U.S.S.R. sent troops into Poland to occupy the eastern areas. In November, 1939, the Soviet Union attacked Finland, ostensibly to gain strategic areas for her own defense. The attack upon Finland weakened the Soviet international position; it almost created a break with France and England; and the U.S.S.R. was expelled from the League of Nations. In the ensuing struggle, the Soviets, apparently depending upon communistic support within Finland which was not forthcoming, were unprepared for the strong defense displayed by the Finns and for the encouragement and assistance which came to Finland from almost every country in the world. Through victory

---

[1] *The Soviet Union Today—An Outline Study*, p. 74.

in this war, the Soviet Union gained in 1940 the Karelian Isthmus, the city and district of Viipuri, and a thirty-year lease on the Hango Peninsula. The experience had served to make the Soviet leaders aware of deficiencies in their military strength, and they immediately began to concentrate on plans for the defense of the Soviet Union.

The Soviets had initiated negotiations with the Baltic States in 1939, and at that time secured the right to establish bases within these countries. After the collapse of France in 1940, the Baltic States were incorporated into the Soviet Union, and in June, 1940, troops occupied Bessarabia and northern Bukovina. Thus, within a few months, the western boundaries of the former Russian Empire, with the exception of the Nazi-occupied part of Poland, to which the Soviets laid no claim, had been restored; and northern Bukovina and eastern Galicia, part of old Austria-Hungary, added.

C. Policy from 1941 to 1944

During 1940-1941, preparation for war became the prime interest of the Soviets. Armies were trained; armament plants were moved beyond the Urals; new plants were constructed. The Germans apparently decided to strike before full organization could be accomplished, and on June 22, 1941, Germany invaded Soviet territory.

The suspicion that existed between the Soviet Union and the western democracies delayed the arrival at common understanding. Following the invasion of the U.S.S.R. by Germany, however, Soviet funds which had been frozen in the United States at the time of the Soviet-Finnish War were released. In September, 1941, the Soviet Union announced through its ambassador its willingness to adhere to the fundamental principles of the Atlantic Charter, in which the signatories declare that they seek no territorial or other aggrandizement, and no territorial changes not in accord with the peoples concerned, and that they recognize the right of self-determination of nations. On January 1, 1942, in Washington, one month after America's entry into World War II, the Soviet Union, with twenty-five

other nations, signed a declaration of adherence to the Atlantic Charter.

In October, 1941, Lend-Lease aid was extended to the U.S.S.R. by the United States for the purchase of arms and supplies; in certifying the arrangement in November, 1941, President Roosevelt stated that the defense of the U.S.S.R. was vital to the defense of the United States. In June, 1942, the amount of the United States Lend-Lease to the Soviet Union was increased from one to three billion dollars. In June, 1942, the Soviet Union signed a twenty-year alliance with Great Britain for common action not only during the war, but also for post-war collaboration aiming toward security and economic prosperity in Europe. By July, 1943, Lend-Lease supplies were moving from the United States into the U.S.S.R. over the Iran route at the rate of a million tons a month, in addition to those entering through the ports of Vladivostok and Murmansk.

In April, 1941, the Soviets had signed a neutrality pact with Japan, by which each contracted to remain neutral in case of hostilities with other nations. Observance of this pact has enabled the Soviet Union to concentrate on the defeat of Germany in the west.

In October, 1943, a tripartite conference of the foreign ministers of Soviet Russia, Great Britain, and the United States was held in Moscow. The conference resulted in a joint declaration, in which the Chinese government also concurred, for unity in the prosecution of the war and united action for post-war organization and maintenance of peace and security. A month later, President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill and Premier Stalin met at Teheran, capital of Iran. A declaration following this conference stated again that the three nations should cooperate in the war and in the peace to follow.

The Communist International, or Comintern, organized in 1919 for the purpose of uniting all workers of the world in a revolutionary movement to achieve a classless society, proved a handicap to the Soviets in their foreign relations. Under Stalin's leadership, the emphasis has been focused upon the development of socialism within the Soviet Union; and the Comintern officially ceased to exist in May, 1943.

D. What of the Future?

The Declaration of the United Nations of January 1, 1942, the Moscow Conference of October, 1943, and the Conference at Teheran of November, 1943, promise continuance of collaboration between the Soviet Union and the western democracies.

Reconstruction, rehabilitation of her devastated lands, and resumption of development of her internal economy will be primary aims of the U.S.S.R. in the period immediately following the war. The attainment of these objectives will require international coöperation for peace and trade. The Soviets will need further importation from America and other countries of machinery, machine tools, railway and mining equipment, and additional services of chemists, builders, and skilled machine workers; they themselves will sell furs, platinum, manganese and other products. In the achievement of world peace, world trade, and collective security, the Soviet Union, with the other United Nations, is pledged to play a vital role.

When considering the future of American-Soviet relations, a glance backward may have many useful implications. A historical survey of Russo-American relations previous to the Bolshevik Revolution reveals many instances of coöperation between the two countries and many times when mutual benefit was derived from pursuing a common course of action. Even though the American and Russian systems of government differed fundamentally, coöperation was possible and profitable. Differences in political systems, therefore, do not bar the way to coöperation.

There are, in fact, several factors which should tend to create common bonds between the United States and the Soviet Union. They are the only two great powers in the world which have direct two-way traffic across the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. In the vicinity of the Bering Strait, they are neighbors, with possessions at one place about three miles apart. Both countries had their origins in revolutions; both have large-scale social and economic problems, and they have a similar pioneer heritage. Optimism, the ideal of the abundant life, and a reliance upon scientific methods and machine techniques are common to both

countries. Of prime importance is the fact that the international aims and ideals of the two countries are in agreement in upholding world peace as a goal. Since, when the present war ends, the United States and the Soviet Union will remain two of the most powerful and influential nations on earth, the future of world peace depends in large measure upon the extent to which the peoples of the two nations can work together in harmony in the difficult days and years ahead.

References on Foreign Policy:

Dallin, David J., *Soviet Russia's Foreign Policy,* 1939-1942.
Dulles, Foster Rhea, *The Road to Teheran.*
Fischer, Louis, *The Soviets and World Affairs.*
Vernadsky, George, *A History of Russia.*

Some Suggested Activities on Foreign Policy:

1. In 1807, Alexander I signed a friendship pact with Napoleon; five years later, Napoleon invaded Russian soil; in 1939, Stalin signed a non-aggression pact with Hitler; in 1941 Hitler invaded the U.S.S.R. Many people have noted an interesting parallel in these two situations. Read about both; then, using the title "Does History Repeat Itself?" write a summary of your findings. Be sure to describe the circumstances leading up to the agreements, and the immediate, as well as the ultimate, results. See Vernadsky, *History of Russia.*
2. In connection with the parallel suggested in (1), can you picture the modern representatives of Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia signing the 1941 non-aggression pact, mutually distrustful, with the shadows of their 1807 predecessors over them? Could you draw a cartoon to represent this situation? (Suggestion: see cartoon depicted in Vera M. Dean's *Russia at War,* Foreign Policy Headline Book, p. 69.)
3. From material in the classroom or public library, obtain as complete and up-to-date statistics as possible regarding United States Lend-Lease to the U.S.S.R., to Britain, and to China. Make a bar graph, or other chart, depicting clearly the comparative amounts of Lend-Lease aid to these three Allies.
4. Write to the American Russian Institute, 58 Park Avenue, New York City, and ask for information as to the total cost of the war in dollars to the U.S.S.R. in 1941, 1942, 1943 and 1944. Make a chart showing the comparison of United States Lend-Lease aid to the total cost of the war to the U.S.S.R.
5. On a world map entitled "Possible International Trade—1950" indicate, by means of symbols and arrows, the products and the direction of possible exchange between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. Indicate

methods and possible routes of transportation. (Suggestion: see "The Future of American-Soviet Trade Relations" by E. C. Ropes in the book, *The U.S.S.R. in Reconstruction;* also the article "To Bridge the Gulf Between the U.S. and Russia," by Eric Johnston, *Readers Digest,* August, 1944.)

6. Using the references in (5), above, prepare an oral report on the possibilities of post-war trade with the U.S.S.R.
7. The Communist International proved a handicap to the Soviet Union in its foreign relations. Look up the story of this organization and determine why it was found to be a real disadvantage to the U.S.S.R. With a committee of three other members of the class, prepare a radio interview in which you act as Stalin, and the others as questioners. The scripts, by means of questions and answers, should explain the origin and purposes of the Communist International, some of its activities, and the reasons for its official ending. References: Vernadsky, *A History of Russia;* Dean, Vera, *Rusia at War.*
8. During the present war, Japanese boats, manned by Japanese sailors, are guiding American ships laden with Lend-Lease supplies for the U.S.S.R., safely into the Soviet port of Vladivostok. How can this situation exist, when the supplies are to be used against Japan's ally, Germany?

   Write answers to the following questions:

   a. Under what agreement is this activity carried on?
   b. What are the advantages and disadvantages in 1944 of the existing relationship between Japan and the U.S.S.R.?
   c. How could the U.S.S.R., at peace with Japan (with whom the United States was at war) and the United States, at peace with Finland (with whom the U.S.S.R. was at war), sign a common declaration in regard to the carrying on of World War II in January, 1944? References: Dallin, *Soviet Russia's Foreign Policy,* 1939-1942, pp. 391-393.
9. Choose one of the following historic events in the history of relations between the United States and Russia, and write as thorough and interesting a report as you can, being sure that it covers the following points:

   a. What was the feeling of each country toward the other, and in what ways was it shown?
   b. Why did each country feel and act as it did at the time of:
      1. the American Revolution when Catherine the Great was ruler of Russia.
      2. the attempt of the United States through its first envoy to Russia, Francis Dana of Massachusetts, to obtain recognition of the young republic at the court of the Tsars.

3. the 26-year period from 1783-1809 when the United States endeavored to obtain formal recognition by Russia.
4. the freedom of the seas issue during the Napoleonic Wars.
5. the War of 1812.
6. the Crimean War, 1856.
7. the American Civil War, 1861-1865.
8. the purchase of Alaska, 1867.
9. the Russo-Japanese War, 1904-1905.

References: Dulles, Foster R., *The Road to Teheran,* Chapter I, "The Common Cause" and subsequent chapters regarding special events; Vernadsky, *A History of Russia.*

Some Suggestions for General Activities:

1. Read Irina Skariatina's *The First To Go Back* to get a picture of Soviet Russia through the eyes of one who had lived in Tsarist Russia. If you would like to read a book on the pre-revolutionary era, read Grand Duchess Marie's *Education of a Princess.*
2. Display on the bulletin board striking headlines, book jackets, cartoons, maps, and pictures related to each major phase of the topics of study about the U.S.S.R.
3. Find some story on Russia in the daily press which has some significance for an important aspect of Soviet life. Discuss the implications of it.
4. Lewis Gannett says, "It is not a pretty fact, but it is a fact, that no reports of Soviet factories, kindergartens, or any of the Soviets' 'social' advances have aroused a tithe of the sympathy in America which has been stirred by the indisputable achievements of Russia's Red Army." As preparation for a class discussion, read Walter Duranty's *USSR,* pp. 122-123, wherein he examines the reasons for American anti-Soviet prejudices.
5. Collect from two or more newspapers for a period of one week as many cartoons as you can depicting the Soviet Union. Turn these over to a committee to decide the type of appeal that each makes. From this analysis, list the main arguments being used, making sure to draw up separate lists for opposing points of view. You may wish to arrange a showing of these cartoons, and to present a report to the class.
6. If you are interested in a book about Russia at the height of the German attack, read Erskine Caldwell's book, *All Out on the Road to Smolensk.* The description of a tank battle is one you will be likely to remember. Write a few paragraphs telling why you would or would not recommend this book to your classmates.
7. Arrange for some able person who has visited Russia to meet with the class. Explain to him that you will not expect him to make a formal address, but that you would like to ask him some questions on things he observed in the Soviet Union.

8. Make a poster illustrating what you consider to be the outstanding features of the U.S.S.R.
9. Read Walter Duranty's *USSR,* pp. 53-64, on the "Hostile Circle." Prepare to discuss this chapter in class, considering particularly the implications for us today.
10. Trace the relations between Russia and the United States from 1724 to 1944. Write a paper describing these relations, and discussing the outlook for American-Soviet relations in the future. (For reference, see Vernadsky, *History of Russia,* and Davies, *Mission to Moscow;* also last two chapters in Williams, *The Russians.*)
11. Book Review.
    a. Choose, for a review, one of the books suggested in the student list. As you read, note carefully any incidents which reveal interesting things about Soviet life today.
    b. Write a book review including these items:
        (1) Two incidents showing interesting aspects of Soviet life.
        (2) Values of the book in helping you to understand the Soviet Union.
12. Throughout the study of the Soviet Union, it is suggested that appreciation of many geographic and historic similarities, comparisons and parallels between Russia and the United States, based upon fact, and non-controversial, may be developed through activities. A few suggestions of subject matter for such activities are:

    Geography:

    Size and location: the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. unusually large countries, both with coastlines allowing for Atlantic and Pacific shipping.

    Resources: vast natural resources; items to be imported, or artifically developed, similar.

    Climate: unusual variations in climate in both countries.

    Peoples:

    Large numbers of nationalities, races and religions among the peoples of the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R.

    History:

    Peaceful relations with Russia throughout America's entire history.

    Friendly acts of Russia toward America during the American Revolution.

    The interesting parallel between the fact that in the early years of American national existence, Russia was the last of the great powers to recognize the new revolutionary government, and a century and a half later, America was the last great power to recognize the new revolutionary government of Russia.

    Mutual viewpoint concerning freedom of the seas during Napoleonic Wars.

American refusal to join in intervention against Russia during the Crimean War.

Moral support of Russia during American Civil War.

The emancipation of the Russian serfs in 1863 and freeing of Negro slaves in America, 1865.

Circumstances surrounding the purchase of Alaska by the United States in 1867.

The westward movement in America; the eastward movement in Russia.

American famine relief to Russia in early twentieth century and in 1920's.

The following references are suggested:

Dulles, Foster R., *The Road to Teheran,* Chapter I, "The Common Cause."

Pares, Bernard, *Russia and the Peace,* Chapter XIX, "Russia and America."

Sorokin, Pitirim A., *Russia and the United States.*

Schuman, Frederick Lewis, *American Policy Toward Russia Since 1917,* Chapter I, "The Tradition of Russian-American Friendship."

Selected Annotated Bibliography

Although, at present, text materials on the Soviet Union for school use are limited, reading matter on the subject is extensive and constantly growing. The following book list is necessarily merely suggestive.

Objectivity in writing concerning Soviet Russia is not easy of achievement; all authors, it may be understood, are expressing a point of view. Because of changing conditions in the Soviet Union, dates of publication are of special significance.

Book titles preceded by a "T" are recommended for teachers. An "S" indicates books which may be used with profit both by students and teachers. Books marked "T*" are suitable for the use of both teachers and mature students.

T* Anderson, Paul B., *People, Church and State in Modern Russia,* Macmillan Co., N. Y. 1944.

An examination of the status of religion, stressing the viewpoint of the Orthodox Church. A well-written, useful reference.

S Bourke-White, Margaret, *Eyes on Russia,* Simon and Schuster, N. Y., 1931.

Interesting narrative, accompanied by pictures taken during a trip in the summer of 1930. Shows industrial progress.

S Bourke-White, Margaret, *Shooting the Russian War,* Simon and Schuster, N. Y., 1942.
A description of Russia at war, written in simple, appealing language. Well illustrated.

S Caldwell, Erskine, *All-Out On The Road To Smolensk,* Duell, Sloar and Pearce, N. Y., 1942.
Excellent account of the German invasion, and the attack or Moscow.

T Callcott, Mary Stevenson, *Russian Justice,* Macmillan Co., N. Y., 1935.
A well-documented study of the treatment of criminals, and the Soviet theory of crime.

T* Carroll, Wallace, *We're In This With Russia,* Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1942.
Impressions of a correspondent on the basis of experiences in the Soviet Union, 1939-1941.

T Chamberlin, William Henry, *Soviet Russia,* Little, Brown and Co., Boston, 1930.
A critical analysis of the history of the Soviet Union on the basis of seven years' residence in Russia as a journalist.

T ———, *The Russian Enigma,* Charles Scribner's Sons, 1943.
An interpretation of the Soviet Union by one who lived there during the early days of industrialization. Not as objective as some of Chamberlin's other books.

T* Childs, John L., and Counts, George S., *America, Russia, and the Communist Party,* John Day Co., N. Y., 1943.
Frank statement of the necessity of post-war collaboration between the United States and the Soviet Union.

S Cressey, George B., *Asia's Land and Peoples,* McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., N. Y., 1944.
An excellent economic geography. Good maps and illustrations. Highly recommended.

S Curie, Eve, *Journey Among Warriors,* Doubleday, Doran and Co., Inc., N. Y., 1943.
An intimate picture of the Russian fighting front, as well as descriptions of other fronts. A vivid, readable account.

T Dallin, David J., *Soviet Russia's Foreign Policy,* Yale University Press, New Haven, 1942.
A detailed account of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union from 1939-1942 by one who was a political exile from Russia from 1911-1917.

S Davies, Joseph E., *Mission to Moscow,* Simon and Schuster, N. Y., 1942.
The American ambassador to the U.S.S.R. from 1936-1938 gives extracts from his diary, confidential reports and personal letters

depicting developments of internal and foreign policy in the Soviet Union.

T* Davies, Raymond Arthur and Steiger, Andrew, *Soviet Asia,* The Dial Press, N. Y., 1942.
Excellent account of economic development in Soviet Asia, with a clear analysis of the importance of Siberia in world affairs.

S Dulles, Foster Rhea, *Road to Teheran,* Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1944.
The story of American-Russian relations from 1781 to 1943.

S Duranty, Walter, *USSR,* J. B. Lippincott and Co., N. Y., 1944.
A readable and objective explanation of events from 1917 through 1943.

T Eastman, Max, *Artists in Uniform,* Alfred A. Knopf, N. Y., 1934.
A hostile critic of the Soviet Union reviews the status of arts and letters.

T ———, *The End of Socialism in Russia,* Little, Brown and Co., Boston, 1937.
An attempt to show the failure of Marxian Socialism in the Soviet Union.

T Fediaevsky, Vera, and Hill, Patty Smith, *Nursery School and Parent Education in Soviet Russia,* E. P. Dutton and Co., Inc., N. Y., 1936.
A detailed description of nursery schools written by one who helped develop them in the Soviet Union, and edited by an American educator who has visited nursery schools there.

S Felsen, Gregor, *Struggle is Our Brother,* E. P. Dutton and Co., Inc., N. Y., 1943.
An appealing and exciting story of the resistance of Russian guerillas against the Nazis.

T Fischer, Louis, *The Soviets in World Affairs,* 2 vols., Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith, N. Y., 1930.
Detailed historical account of the foreign relations of the Soviet Union from 1917 to 1930.

S Fischer, Markoosha, *My Lives In Russia,* Harper and Bros., N. Y., 1944.
An extremely well-told, interesting account of personal experiences in the Soviet Union, written by the wife of Louis Fischer, American journalist. The author's faith in the Soviets was badly shaken by the purges, and her disillusionment was completed by the Nazi-Soviet pact.

S Gorky, Maxim, *Mother,* D. Appleton and Co., N. Y., 1907.
A novel of a son and mother who rebelled against their existence of hardship and poverty in old Russia.

S Graebner, Walter, *Round Trip to Russia,* J. B. Lippincott Co., N. Y., 1943.

An excellent book on Russia at war, and a real aid in promoting understanding of the strength of the Soviets.

S Graves, William S., *America's Siberian Adventure, 1918-1920,* Peter Smith, N. Y., 1941.
The story of the operations of the American expeditionary force in Siberia from 1918-1920, told by the major-general of the United States army who was in charge.

S Grossman, Vassili, *No Beautiful Nights,* Soviet Russia Today, N. Y., 1944.
A popular war novel in the Soviet Union. The story of a Red Army unit by a war correspondent.

T* Halle, Fannina, *Women in the Soviet East,* E. P. Dutton and Co., Inc., N. Y., 1938.
Descriptions of the customs affecting women in the various nationality groups, and the changes brought by the Soviet regime.

T Harper, Samuel N., *Government of the Soviet Union,* D. Van Nostrand Co., Inc., N. Y., 1938.
A detailed, objective description of the government and administration of the Soviet Union.

T Hecker, Julius F., *Moscow Dialogues,* Chapman and Hall, Ltd., London, 1933.
Discussion, in dialogue form, of the development of the philosophy of Communism, its sources and problems.

S Hindus, Maurice, *Humanity Uprooted,* Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith, N. Y., 1929.
Vivid account of the early years after the Revolution by a native of Russia who left the country during the Revolution and returned in 1923.

S ———, *Mother Russia,* Doubleday, Doran and Co., Inc., Garden City, N. Y., 1942.
An objective analysis of the development of the Soviet Union from 1917 to 1942.

S Ilin, M., *Black on White: The Story of Books,* 1932.
———, *Turning Night into Day: the Story of Lightning,* 1936.
———, *What Time Is It? The Story of Clocks,* 1932.
J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia.
An excellent series of books for children.

T* Johnson, Hewlett, The Dean of Canterbury, *Soviet Power,* International Publishers, N. Y., 1940.
A clergyman's analysis of the causes underlying the development of the Soviet Union.

T Keeton, George W., and Schlesinger, Rudolf, *Russia and Her Western Neighbors,* Jonathan Cape, Ltd., Toronto, 1942.
An interpretation by English authors of Soviet Union foreign

policy from 1917 to June, 1941. Includes a penetrating one-chapter analysis of the bases of Soviet foreign policy.

S Kennel, R. E., *Factory Train to Soviet Asia,* D. C. Heath and Co., N. Y.
A book for students, to be published in 1945.

T King, Beatrice, *Changing Man: The Education System of the U.S.S.R.,* Viking Press, N. Y., 1937.
A survey of the organization and administration of education in the U.S.S.R., with particular emphasis upon the elementary and secondary schools.

T Kohn, Hans, *Nationalism in the Soviet Union,* George Routledge and Sons, Ltd., London, 1933.
A study of the nationalities in the Soviet Union and of the new policies toward racial groups. Valuable statistics in the appendix.

S Kournakoff, Sergei N., *Russia's Fighting Forces,* International Publishers, N. Y., 1942.
A detailed historical account of the Red Army by a former officer in the Imperial army.

T* Krupskaya, Nadezhda K., *Memories of Lenin,* 2 vols., International Publishers, N. Y., 1930.
A detailed account of Lenin's life up to the Revolution of 1917, written by his wife. Valuable for events leading up to the Revolution, as well as analysis of Lenin's character.

S Lesueur, Larry, *Twelve Months that Changed the World,* Alfred A. Knopf, N. Y., 1943.
The experiences of a newspaper correspondent from October, 1941 to October, 1942, in the Soviet battle areas.

T Litvinov, Maxim, *Against Aggression,* International Publishers, N. Y., 1939.
A collection of speeches made from 1934-1938 by the U.S.S.R. People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs.

T* Ludwig, Emil, *Stalin,* G. P. Putnam's Sons, N. Y., 1942.
A vivid picture of Stalin, after a long personal interview.

T* Lyons, Eugene, *Assignment in Utopia,* Harcourt, Brace and Co., N. Y., 1937.
An interesting account written by an American journalist who became gradually disillusioned by life in the Soviet Union.

S Marie, Grand Duchess of Russia, *Education of a Princess,* Blue Ribbon Books, Inc., N. Y., 1930.
An interesting description of court life before the Revolution, and of the dissolution of the monarchy.

S Mikhailov, Nicholas, *Land of the Soviets, A Handbook of the U. S. S. R.,* Lee Furman, Inc., N. Y., 1939.
Valuable economic geography; its information on resources, the

economic and social order, and description of these factors in all parts of the U.S.S.R., make this a most usable handbook for teacher and pupil.

S Papanin, Ivan, *Life on an Ice Floe,* Julian Messner, Inc., N. Y., 1939.
The leader of an expedition of four Soviet scientists to the Arctic in 1937 tells the day-by-day story of nine months on the Arctic ice; illustrated.

T* Pares, Bernard, *Russia,* Penguin Books, 245 5th Ave., N. Y., 1941.
Brief history by a British author. Last chapter analyzes hindrances to understanding between the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union.

S ———, *Russia and the Peace,* The Macmillan Company, N. Y., 1944.
The British author, traveler, lecturer and historian has been interested in Russian affairs since before 1900; he gives observations on Russian relations with the other powers.

S Poliakov, Alexander, *Russians Don't Surrender,* E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., N. Y., 1942.
Thrilling journal of a Red Army man who was a war correspondent during the siege of Leningrad. Well illustrated.

S Pope, Arthur Upham, *Maxim Litvinoff,* L. B. Fischer, N. Y., 1943.
A biography of the former Soviet ambassador to the United States, depicting his life and personality in the setting of Russia before and after the Communist revolution.

T* Pratt, Helen, *Russia, From Tsarist Empire to Socialism,* American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1937.
Excellent, objective historical review. Valuable for a study of the background of the Revolution.

T Reed, John, *Ten Days That Shook The World,* The Modern Library, Inc., N. Y., 1935.
An American Communist's personal observation of the dramatic events of the ten days beginning November 7, 1917, when the Bolsheviks seized power.

T* Scott, John, *Behind the Urals,* Houghton Mifflin Company, N. Y., 1942.
Story of an American who worked in Magnitogorsk, east of the Urals, from 1932 to 1938. Critical study of Soviet Union and problems of industrialization.

T* Sholokhov, Mikhail, *And Quiet Flows the Don,* Alfred A. Knopf, N. Y., 1943.
A novel about the Cossacks during the First World War, and the Revolution. One of the series in *The Silent Don.*

T Sigerist, Henry E., *Socialized Medicine in the Soviet Union,* W. W. Norton and Co., N. Y., 1937.
A thorough, objective account of the public health system of the U.S.S.R. Includes discussion of rest and recreation, labor protection, the prevention of crime, and housing as factors influencing the health of the people.

S Skariatina, Irina, *First to Go Back,* Blue Ribbon Books, Inc., N. Y., 1933.
A countess under the old regime, the author returned to the Soviet Union in 1933 and reports favorably on the progress made there during her exile.

S Smolka, H. P., *40,000 Against the Arctic,* William Morrow and Co., N. Y., 1937.
A British newspaper man's account of the developments, experiments, and possibilities of expansion in the Soviet Arctic.

T* Sorokin, Pitirim A., *Russia and the United States,* E. P. Dutton and Co., N. Y., 1944.
A thoughtful interpretation of the fundamental similarities between the United States and Soviet Russia.

T* *Soviet Union Today,* American Russian Institute, N. Y., 1943.
A comprehensive summary covering all phases of Soviet life. Recommended as a basis for study. Classified bibliography included.

T *Soviet War Documents,* Embassy of the U.S.S.R., Washington, D. C., 1943.
Addresses of Stalin, Molotov and others on the Soviet Union and the war.

T Stalin, Joseph, *Marxism and the National Question,* International Publishers, N. Y., 1942.
Selected speeches and reports stating the official Soviet policies and aims on nationality problems.

S Stewart, Marguerite Ann, *Land of the Soviets,* Webster Publishing Company, St. Louis, Missouri, 1942.
An excellent booklet describing the geography, people, history, industry and government of the Soviet Union. Written for school use. Well illustrated.

S Strong, Anna Louise, *Peoples of the U.S.S.R.,* The Macmillan Co., N. Y., to be published November, 1944.
Will contain a descriptive account of the peoples of the sixteen Soviet Republics, including their history, geography, resources and occupations. The author, an American, has lived in the Soviet Union for most of the last twenty years.

T ———, *This Soviet World,* Henry Holt and Co., N. Y., 1936.
An analysis of Soviet Russia by one who has been consistently friendly in her attitude.

T* Timasheff, N. S., *Religion in Soviet Russia, 1917-1942,* Sheed and Ward, N. Y., 1942.
A carefully documented account of the history and present status of religion in Soviet Russia based upon personal observations and data published in Soviet newspapers and journals.

S Timbres, Harry and Rebecca, *We Didn't Ask Utopia,* Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1939.
The experiences of a Quaker family in Soviet Russia told through letters and journal entries.

T* Tolstoy, Leo, *War and Peace,* The Modern Library, Random House, Inc., N. Y.
A classic of Russian literature, describing life in Russia during the Napoleonic Wars.

T* *U.S.S.R. in Reconstruction, The,* American Russian Institute, N. Y., 1944.
Discussion of Soviet reconstruction problems by Soviet and American experts.

T Utley, Freda, *The Dream We Lost,* John Day Company, N. Y., 1940.
Record of personal experiences in Soviet Union from 1930 to 1936. A critical study giving an unfavorable impression.

S Vernadsky, George, *A History of Russia,* New Home Library, N. Y., 1944.
The author, Research Associate in History at Yale University, has brought up to date his first history of Russia written in 1930; this popular-priced, one-volume edition includes the story of World War II through 1943.

S Voyetekhov, Boris, *Last Days of Sevastopol,* Alfred A. Knopf, N. Y., 1943.
A vivid account of the bravery and endurance of the defenders of Sevastopol. Written by a playwright and journalist who was in the city during the siege.

T Webb, Sidney and Beatrice, *Soviet Communism: A New Civilization?,* 2 vols., Charles Scribners' Sons, N. Y., 1938.
A classic on the political and economic foundations of the Soviet Union. Chapter XI especially valuable for scientific developments.

S Williams, Albert Rhys, *The Russians: The Land, The People and Why They Fight,* Harcourt, Brace and Co., N. Y., 1943.
Contains some material from the author's *The Soviets,* but is written in a more popular style. Informative, and gives details of many of the war-time developments. An extremely valuable background book.

S ———, *The Soviets,* Harcourt, Brace and Company, N. Y., 1937.
A valuable book on the political, economic, social and cultural life of the Soviet Union, with a section on foreign relations. Excellent for reference in school library. Good bibliography included.

T* ———, *Through the Russian Revolution,* Boni and Liveright, Publishers, N. Y., 1921.

Written during the period of Civil War, on the basis of experience in Russia as correspondent during that time. Good account of Allied intervention, and of the attitude of the Russian people in the early days of the Soviet Union.

S Willkie, Wendell, *One World,* Simon and Schuster, N. Y., 1943. Story of the author's forty-nine-day world-encircling air trip of 1942. Includes descriptions of his visits in the Soviet Union.

Pamphlets

Baltic Soviet Republics, The, National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, N. Y., 1944. $.10.

Brody, Alter, *Behind the Polish-Soviet Break,* Soviet Russia Today, 114 E. 32 St., N. Y. $.10.

Constitution of the U.S.S.R., National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, N. Y. $.10.

Dana, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, *Drama in Wartime Russia,* National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, N. Y. $.15.

Dean, Vera Micheles, *Russia at War,* Foreign Policy Association, N. Y., 1942. $.25.

Education and Youth in Wartime in the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., 1943, National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, N. Y., 1943. $.10.

Family of Nations: The Soviet Union, National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, N. Y. $.10.

Lamont, Corliss, *Soviet Russia and the Post-War World,* National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, N. Y. $.05.

———, *Soviet Russia versus Nazi Germany,* National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, N. Y., 1942. $.10.

Maurer, Rose, *Soviet Children and Their Care,* National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, N. Y. $.10.

———, *Soviet Health Care in Peace and War,* American Russian Institute, N. Y., 1943. $.10.

Smith, Edwin S., *Organized Labor in the Soviet Union,* National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, N. Y., 1943. $.10.

Stalin, Joseph, *New Soviet Constitution,* International Publishers, 381 Fourth Ave., N. Y., 1943.

———, *War of National Liberation,* International Publishers, 381 Fourth Ave., N. Y., 1943.

———, and Molotov, V. M., *In Praise of Learning,* International Publishers, 381 Fourth Ave., New York, 1938. $.05.

U.S.S.R. at War, 1943, 50 Questions and 50 Answers, American Russian Institute, Inc., 58 Park Avenue, N. Y. $.10.

World's Fair Pamphlets (Published by the Foreign Languages House, Moscow, 1939). $.10 each.

Zetkin, Clara, *Lenin on the Woman Question,* International Publishers, 381 Fourth Ave., N. Y., 1934. $.10.

Magazines

American Quarterly on the Soviet Union, American Russian Institute, N. Y.

American Sociological Review, June, 1944, American Sociological Society, Menasha, Wisconsin. $1.00.

Information Bulletin, Embassy of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Washington, D. C. Free.

Soviet Russia Today, especially June, July, 1944. Soviet Russia Today, 114 E. 32 St., N. Y. $1.50 per year.

Survey Graphic, February, 1944, Survey Associates, 112 E. 19 St., N. Y. $.50 a copy; 3 for $1.00.

Other Bibliographies

Simmons, Ernest J., *Intensive Study of Contemporary Russian Civilization.* Final Report, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y., 1943.

Sources of Teaching Materials and Bibliography for Teachers and Students, National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Inc., 232 Madison Ave., N. Y.

Soviet Union Today, An Outline Study, American Russian Institute, Inc., 58 Park Avenue, N. Y., 1943.

Williams, Albert Rhys, *The Soviets,* Harcourt Brace and Co., N. Y., 1937. PP. 526-540.

Visual Aids

Films

Boston University Film Service has several films on Soviet Russia.

Brandon Films, 1600 Broadway, N. Y., is the best single source for films about the Soviet Union. Their folder describes available titles, number of minutes required for projection, and cost.

British Information Services, The Film Division, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, N. Y., has British films about the Soviet Union.

National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Inc., has a folder called "See the Soviet Union in Exhibits and Films," describing those available for school showings.

New York University Film Library lists several films on the Soviet Union.

Visual Education Film Service, 131 Clarendon Street, Boston, has films on the U.S.S.R.

Posters

British Information Services, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, N. Y.

National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Inc., has war posters.

Russian War Relief, 11 E. 35th Street, N. Y., has a folio containing eight Soviet posters, reproduced in color $1.75

Exhibits, Photographs, Slides, Water Colors, Cartoons

American Russian Institute has picture postcards of the U.S.S.R., 16 postcards ..... .05

East and West Association, Publication Division, 40 East 49th St., N. Y., has a portfolio of photographs 8½" x 11", well mounted, with accompanying text: "Life of a Family in Russia" ..... .50

"Inside Russia," a picture digest by Leverett S. Gleason, 114 East 32d Street, N. Y., contains 130 pages of pictures 5" x 7" from International News Photos, Press Association and Sovfoto, per copy ..... .25

Life, March 29, 1943. A well-illustrated issue on Soviet Russia.

National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Inc., has:

Exhibits, loaned for a small fee; list sent on request. Photographs of all phases of Soviet life. Example: 32 pictures 6" x 8" depicting landscapes, peoples, agriculture, industry.

Book illustrations from Soviet books.

Cartoons.

Picture postcards of the U.S.S.R., 16 postcards ..... .05

Slides, large assortment, showing various aspects of life in the Soviet Union; may be borrowed for a small fee; set of 50 ..... 1.00

Original water colors by Soviet children.

Books for children published in the Soviet Union (in Russian).

Russian War Relief has "A Pictured Story of the Soviets," sheets of pictures, 17" x 22" each, supplemented with explanatory text. A series of six is planned, of which the first, "Industry in the U.S.S.R.," is ready.

Folio of twelve Soviet Photo-Prints 14" x 20" by Margaret Bourke-White: 1. "Machine Dance"; 2. "Soviet Babies"; 3. Stalin's Great Aunt"; 4. "Shock Brigadier"; 5. "Medical Students"; 6. "Blast Furnace: Magnitogorsk"; 7. "Mtskhet: Caucasus"; 8. "Village in the Urals"; 9. "Col. Cooper at Dnieper Dam"; 10. "Soviet Bricklayer"; 11. "Children's Clinic: Moscow"; 12. "Street Car Conductor."

Maps

Esso—"The World Island," 23" x 33" ..... Free

General Drafting Co., Inc., 21 West Street, N. Y.

Helpful in showing physical features.

Goodall, George (ed.) "Soviet Russia in Maps," 7½" x 10" $1.00

Denoyer-Geppert Co., 5235-57 Ravenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.

Booklet of thirty-two maps of origins and development of Russia; shows historical changes, as well as geography, resources, populations, political divisions, languages and races.

"Polar Map of the World," 1943. Rand McNally & Co., Chicago, Illinois.

Stembridge, Jasper H., "An Atlas of the U.S.S.R.: 16 Maps with Explanatory Text"—No. 27, 7¼" x 4½" ..... .10

Oxford University Press, N. Y., 1942.
A small pamphlet showing resources, transport, industries of various regions.

"Union of Soviet Socialist Republics," 28" x 44" ..... .50
American Russian Institute, N. Y., 1941.
A wall map in four colors; shows cities, rivers, republics and their capitals; major industrial areas; symbols indicate areas of iron, coal, oil and cotton production and locations of heavy industries.

MINIMUM KIT OF ESSENTIAL TEACHING MATERIALS

Books

Duranty, Walter, *USSR: The Story of Soviet Russia,* J. B. Lippincott Co., N. Y., 1944. $3.00.

Mikhailov, Nicholas, *Land of the Soviets,* Lee Furman, Inc., N. Y., 1939. $2.50.

Soviet Union Today, an Outline Study, American Russian Institute, N. Y., 1943. $1.00.

Stewart, Marguerite Ann, *Land of the Soviets,* Webster Publishing Co., St. Louis, Missouri, 1942. $.40.

Williams, Albert Rhys, *The Soviets,* Harcourt, Brace and Co., N. Y., 1937. $2.00.

Pamphlet

Constitution of the U.S.S.R., National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, N. Y. $.10.

Magazines

American Sociological Review, June, 1944, American Sociological Society, Menasha, Wisconsin. $1.00.

Survey Graphic, February, 1944, Survey Associates, Inc., N. Y. $:50.

Maps

Goodall, George (ed.), "Soviet Russia in Maps," Denoyer-Geppert Co., Chicago, Illinois, 1942. $1.00.

"Map of the U.S.S.R.," Soviet Russia Today, 114 E. 32nd Street N. Y. Wall map. $.50.

Stembridge, Jasper H., "An Atlas of the U.S.S.R.," Oxford University Press, N. Y., 1942. $.10.

DIRECTORY OF SOURCES OF TEACHING AIDS

American Russian Institute, 58 Park Avenue, N. Y. A center for factual information. The library contains comprehensive files of books, pamphlets, magazines and newspapers in English and Russian. Publications of particular interest to schools.

Brandon Films, 1600 Broadway, N. Y.
Best single source for films about the Soviet Union.

British Information Services, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, N. Y.
British films about the Soviet Union; free material about British aid to the Soviet Union; posters.

Civic Education Service, 1701 K Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
Publications have contained articles on Soviet Union.

East and West Association, 40 East 49th Street, N. Y.
Bibliography; study outline; portfolio of photographs; lists of material.

Embassy of the U.S.S.R., Washington, D. C.
Publishes Soviet Information Bulletin, copies of which may be obtained free.

Four Continent Book Corporation, 253 Fifth Avenue, N. Y.
Publications in Russian from the Soviet Union.

Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., Division of Bibliography No. 2516.
A selected list of recent references on the Soviet Union.

Museum of Natural History, 77th Street and Central Park West, N. Y.
Slides of the Soviet Union.

National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Inc., 232 Madison Avenue, N. Y. (Massachusetts Council of American-Soviet Friendship, 20 Newbury Street, Boston.)
Has exhibits, information, publications, speakers' bureau.

Russian War Relief, 11 E. 35th Street, N. Y. (Boston office, 128 Newbury Street.)
Posters and map.

Sovfoto, 11 West 42nd Street, N. Y.
The largest file of photographs of the Soviet Union is available at this office.

"Soviet Russia Today," 114 E. 32nd Street, N. Y.
Monthly magazine containing articles on various phases of Soviet life; richly illustrated.

U. S. Office of Education, Department of the Interior, Information Exchange, Washington, D. C.
Packet XXVGI—The Soviet Union; selected booklets, pamphlets, and pictures may be borrowed for school use for two-week periods.

It is suggested that teachers may find local branches of Russian War Relief or of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship in their own localities.

It is also suggested that teachers inquire at their nearest public libraries and museums as to availability of materials on the Soviet Union.

Harvard Workshop Series

1. *The Unit in the Social Studies*
   By James A. Michener and Harold M. Long.....75 cents

2. *Work Experience in Education*
   Edited by Warren C. Seyfert and Paul A. Rehmus....50 cents

3. *A Wartime Program in Social Studies for New England Schools*
   Recommended by a Group of Sixty New England Teachers.....50 cents

4. *The Curriculum as an Integrating Force for Ethnic Variations*
   By Idabelle Yeiser.....25 cents

5. *How to Prepare the Schedule for a Secondary School*
   By Leo Ivok.....75 cents

6. *Meet the Soviet Russians*
   By Dora A. Ames, Katrina B. Anderson, Eunice Johns, and others.....75 cents

COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATIONS
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
HARVARD UNIVERSITY
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

PHOTOMOUNT
PAMPHLET BINDER
PAT. NO.
877188
Manufactured by
GAYLORD BROS. Inc.
Syracuse, N. Y.
Stockton, Calif.

Date Due

FACULTY

FEB 20 '58

NOV 29 '71

DK267 .A51
Meet the soviet Russians; a study guide
Princeton Theological Seminary-Speer Library
1 1012 00022 4016